



Reagan's Initiative

Shell game

in

the

Claudia Wright
reports

Page 3

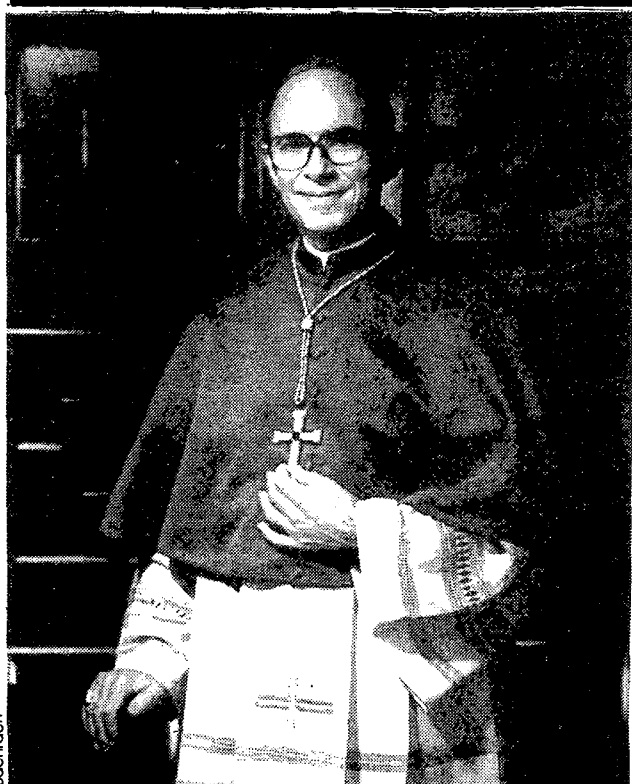
Mideast

New York
governor's
race

John Judis
reports

Page 6

THE INSIDE STORY



Joseph L. Bernardin

New archbishop wins over Chicago

By Robert McClory

CHICAGO

Not since the White Sox won the American League pennant 23 years ago has this city been so aflame with enthusiasm and good will. The triumphant arrival of Joseph L. Bernardin as the new head of the largest Catholic archdiocese in the country became a civic event of the highest magnitude during the last week of August: audiences with dignitaries, special souvenir newspaper sections with color pictures of Bernardin ("suitable for framing"), radio and TV coverage of all the installation ceremonies and upbeat comments from believers, non-believers and agnostics alike.

Bernardin himself seemed a bit overwhelmed when a crowd estimated at almost 100,000 turned out for a "people's mass" and an old-fashioned picnic in spacious Grant Park. "Your presence is the greatest gift I could receive," he repeated as he journeyed through the throng, shaking hands with well-wishers.

There are at least two major reasons for the unprecedented welcome. First, in an era of terrible unemployment, international chaos and family breakdown, Bernardin—an outgoing, sincere, unpretentious leader—can be viewed as a symbol of stability. Wrote *Chicago Sun-Times* columnist Georgie Anne Geyer, "I think the magic of this last week here—in such stark contrast to the carnage around the world—was the eloquent enunciation of the old sense of community that this new shepherd conveyed to everyone inside and outside the faith."

Second, Bernardin's reported openness and his willingness to involve others in the decision-making process portends a new day for Chicago's Catholics—some 2.4 million in number—who squirmed uncomfortably for 17 years under the autocratic reign of Cardinal John Cody. With a kind of reverse Midas touch, Cody destroyed the morale and frustrated the creative energies of the Chicago Church. Bernardin, who told his priests on his arrival, "I am Joseph, your brother," is regarded as a far more humble churchman who knows how to delegate authority and how to inspire loyalty by example rather than by decree. That, at least, was the image the 54-year-old Bernardin conveyed during his 10 years as archbishop of Cincinnati.

Yet when the cheering crowds have departed and the congratulatory telegrams stop arriving, Bernardin must wrestle with the deep, unresolved issues that bedevil the Catholic Church, both in its internal structure

and in its relationship with the world. Most are related to the modern effort to "democratize" the Church—an effort that formally began exactly 20 years ago with the Second Vatican Council and that has since generated far more questions than answers.

Indeed, the late Cardinal Cody was as much a victim of the new democratic spirit in the Church as he was a villain on the Chicago scene. He paid lip service to the thrusts of Vatican II, but it seems clear he neither understood its message nor grasped how to implement it in his gigantic archdiocese. Bernardin, on the other hand, apparently does understand (as much as anyone) what the council was talking about. That he can make it work practically in Chicago is by no means certain. The American landscape is already littered with the failed Vatican II endeavors of numerous prelates and priests. But there is no going back to the old pre-council days when Church rulers were the unquestioned authorities. Too much water has gone under the bridge for that.

In essence, the Second Vatican Council called for an end to monolithic Catholicism and advocated an open-ended, collegial approach between bishops and priests, clergy and laity, the Church and modern society. No longer were orders to be handed down by fiat without consultation or explanation. Key concepts coming out of the council included "dialogue," "shared decision-making" and "mutual service." In its decree on bishops, for example, the council said, "In exercising his office of father and pastor, a bishop should stand in the midst of his people as one who serves."

Yet the Catholic Church in its organization and canon law just isn't set up to work that way. Its form is still that of a slightly limited monarchy—with the Pope at the top and the bishops perceived as exercising the fullness of authority. The lower echelons may be called on for input and advice, but in the traditional (and still theoretically operative) structure, they do not have the final decision.

Hence it was that Cody in the years after the council could wax eloquently about "the People of God working together for the good of the whole Church." Yet when push came to shove in a controversy over a church closing, he could thunder, "In Chicago, I am the Church!"

Enter Bernardin.

Into this situation, so fraught with ambiguity, comes Bernardin. Although he is not likely to repeat Cody's verbal indiscretions, he inherits that muddled, unresolved self-image of post-council Catholicism. Further complicating his work is the undeniable fact that a great mass of Catholics have so fully embraced the democratic view of the Church that they see the authority of the Pope and bishops as largely symbolic—like that of the King of England—or they treat it as totally irrelevant.

Notes psychologist Eugene Kennedy in *Illinois Issues* magazine, "The well-educated Catholics who have emerged from the immigrant culture to participate in and shape the fate of pluralistic America no longer need to pay much attention to those who comport themselves as father ecclesiastics. An enlightened hierarchy presiding over the moral lives of the Catholic people is an idea whose time has already passed. It is an attempt to restructure the paternalistic Church that no longer exists."

The break Kennedy speaks of is evident in the refusal of a multitude of young, practicing Catholics to follow the Pope and bishops' official directives on birth control, divorce and remarriage and other matters.

This is the context within which Bernardin must soon

make a host of practical decisions. Will he establish an archdiocesan pastoral council (with priests, sisters and lay delegates)? And what kind of authority will it have? Will he create an open system of archdiocesan financial accountability and who, besides himself, will be accountable? How can he earn the confidence of his priests, some of whom want to remodel the entire archdiocese while others are bent on retaining the status quo, thus protecting their own little fiefdoms? How shall he relate to lay Catholics—as a kindly but firm father, as a chairman of the board, as a fellow-seeker after truth?

Finally, what stance will the Church take regarding secular affairs in Chicago: disinterested observer, legitimizer of big business and big politics, or active promoter of social change? And who will make that decision?

Thus far, Bernardin has favored the democratic model. After all, "As one who serves" is his motto, and in his initial talks in Chicago he spoke often of "working together," initiating a "listening process," recognizing "my own limitations and sinfulness," and "offering you myself in faith, hope and love." At the same time, he insisted he does not intend to "compromise" Church doctrine, nor is he happy about the Church's fuzzy identity problem. Bernardin is not a wild-eyed revolutionary. He would not have risen this high in the Roman Catholic Church if he were not committed to order and discipline.

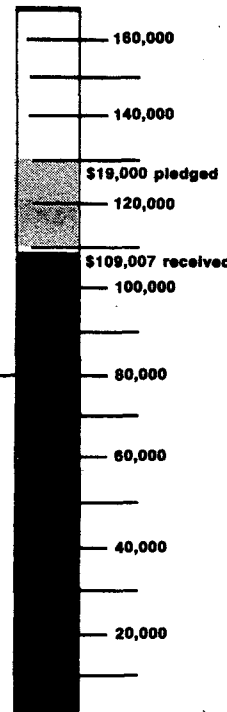
Yet as head of the powerful and influential Chicago Catholic Church, Bernardin may well have the charisma and insight to resolve the festering dilemma over monarchy and democracy in some creative way—to reshape Catholicism as it never before existed, and thus to inaugurate a new era. Those who admired him in Cincinnati say he has the tools and determination to do just that.

Robert McClory is a staff writer for the *National Catholic Reporter* and the *Chicago Reader*.

Another good week

Last week another 259 *In These Times* subscribers sent in \$9,969 bringing the total number of contributors to our \$160,000 fund drive to 2,696, and the total amount received to \$109,007. Our pledges also went up by \$2,000—to \$19,000—for a grand total, so far, of \$128,007. Almost 12 percent of our subscribers have responded to our appeal so far, an absolutely astounding figure.

Subscriptions have also been bouncing back from the summer lull (our circulation has remained at a constant 25,000 these past several months), but renewals are still lagging. We hope it's because many people have been holding back to see if we will survive. Well, we will, so please send in your renewals.



IN THESE TIMES

The Independent Socialist Newspaper

Published 42 times a year: weekly except the first week of January, first week of March, last week of November, last week of December; bi-weekly in June, July and August by Mid-America Publishing Co., 1509 N. Milwaukee Ave., Chicago, Ill. 60622, (312) 489-4444.

PUBLISHERS

William Sennett

James Weinstein

EDITORIAL

Editor

James Weinstein

Associate Editors

John Judis,
David Moberg

Managing Editor

Sheryl Larson

Culture Editor

Pat Aufderheide

European Editor

Diana Johnstone

Acting Assistant Managing Editor

Jay Walljasper

Staff: Emily Young, Editorial Assistant.

Correspondents: Timothy Lange (Denver), David Mandel (Jerusalem), James North (Southern Africa).

West Coast Bureau: Thomas Brom, 464 19th St., Oakland, CA 94612, (415) 834-3015 or 531-5573.

ART

Co-Directors

Ann Tyler, Dolores Wilber

Assistant Art Directors

Paul Comstock, Nicole Ferentz

Composition

Jim Rinnert, Diane Scott

BUSINESS

Associate Publisher

Elizabeth Goldstein

Controller

Bruce Kaplan

Circulation Director Advertising Director
Pat VanderMeer Bill Rehm

Staff: Leenie Folsom, Assistant Circulation Director; Adelia Price, Circulation Assistant; Beth Maschinot, Bruce Embrey, Alan Simmons, Fulfillment Assistants; Anne Ireland, Bookkeeper; Kathleen Gallagher, Office Manager; Grace Faustino, Caging Manager; Paul Ginger, Classified Advertising.

Sponsors: Robert Allen, Julian Bond, Noam Chomsky, Barry Commoner, Al Curtis, Hugh DeLacy, G. William Domhoff, Douglas Dowd, David DuBois, Barbara Ehrenreich, Daniel Ellsberg, Barbara Garson, Emily Gibson, Michael Harrington, Dorothy Healey, David Horowitz, Paul Jacobs (1918-1978), Ann J. Lane, Elinor Langer, Jesse Lemisch, Salvador Luria, Staughton Lynd, Carey McWilliams (1905-1980), Jacques Marchand, Herbert Marcuse (1899-1979), David Montgomery, Carlos Munoz, Harvey O'Connor, Jesse Lloyd O'Connor, Earl Ofari, Seymour Posner, Ronald Radosh, Jeremy Rifkin, Paul Schrade, Derek Shearer, Stan Steiner, Warren Susman, E.P. Thompson, Naomi Weinstein, William A. Williams, John Womack, Jr.

The entire contents of *In These Times* is copyright ©1982 by Mid-America Publishing Co., and may not be reproduced in any manner, either whole or in part, without permission of the publisher. Complete issues of *In These Times* are available from University Microfilms International, Ann Arbor, MI. All rights reserved. *In These Times* is indexed in the Alternative Press Index. Publisher does not assume liability for unsolicited manuscripts or material. Manuscripts or material unaccompanied by stamped, self-addressed envelope will not be returned. All correspondence should be sent to: *In These Times*, 1509 N. Milwaukee Ave., Chicago, IL 60622. Subscriptions are \$23.50 a year (\$35.00 for institutions; \$35.00 outside the U.S. and its possessions). Advertising rates sent on request. All letters received by *In These Times* become property of the newspaper. We reserve the right to print letters in condensed form. Second class postage paid at Chicago, Ill. Postmaster: Send address changes to *In These Times*, 1509 N. Milwaukee Ave., Chicago, IL 60622.

This issue (Vol. 6, No. 25) published September 15, 1982, for new stand sales September 15-21, 1982.

IN THESE TIMES



A boy waves the Palestinian flag as he sits on the shoulders of PLO fighters while a ferry boat docks at port en route to Tunisia. The ship, carrying almost 1,000 Palestinian fighters, unloaded 21 jeeps to meet an Israeli demand.

Reagan's Mideast initiative has something for everyone

By Claudia Wright

WASHINGTON, D.C.

IN THE HEADY DAYS OF BRITISH scheming in the Mideast, not long before the 1956 Suez adventure, a Foreign Office representative suggested at a meeting with Iraqi and American officials that Baghdad should put more money into gaining political control of Syria. Nuri Said, the Iraqi prime minister at the time, was unenthusiastic. "You can rent an Arab," he replied, "but you can't buy him."

The comment was reported back to Washington but ignored. The CIA had already launched a dozen schemes to finance its Arab friends, most of whom—like Nuri himself—were lost within five years, despite the heavy cash outlays. The one Arab leader to have survived from then until now—the recipient of CIA largesse in an operation crypto-named NOBERR—is King Hussein of Jordan.

As the U.S. once again reassesses its tactics for the Mideast, the decision has

been made to renew the pressure on the Hashemite monarch. The objective: to force Jordan into the Camp David talks with Israel and Egypt and produce a settlement of the Palestinian problem under an Israeli-Jordanian condominium. Accomplishing that, the Reagan administration is also calculating, may help eliminate the problem that Syria still poses in Lebanon.

We must demonstrate that it pays to be an American friend," Richard Burt, an assistant secretary of state, said early in the administration. In the Mideast this means that the Arabs must pay the U.S. for protection from harm or else they will suffer at the hand of Israel.

Ambassador Philip Habib was able to achieve his medal-winning negotiating success that dispersed the PLO's forces because the alternative was the physical annihilation of West Beirut by the Israelis. In its next step, the administration didn't need to act directly at all. Having removed the PLO and neutralized the Syrians, the Lebanese presidential elec-

tion was a relatively simple affair, carried off more smoothly than officials in Washington had expected.

Nor did they need to spend as much cash installing Bashir Gemayel as had been spent, for example, on Napoleon Duarte and Roberto d'Aubuisson in the El Salvador elections earlier this year. The Lebanese deputies that were unswayed by Israeli guns were bought off by the Saudis. The price, according to Saudi press circles and a senior representative of the Lebanese National Movement, was 5 million Lebanese pounds (\$1 million) for reluctant Christian deputies

Reagan wants to force Jordan into Camp David talks with Israel and Egypt.

and 10 million pounds (\$2 million) for equivocal Moslems.

Gemayel's victory still left the Reagan administration with the problem of removing the Syrian forces and remnants of the PLO and other Arab units in the Bekaa Valley and in northern Lebanon. No one in Washington expected this to be as easy to accomplish as the Beirut evacuation, largely because the U.S. could not afford to let the Israeli army and air force pummel the Syrians before President Hafez Assad would get down to terms. That risked Soviet intervention and superpower confrontation that Washington doesn't want.

But Habib's negotiating problem with the Syrians was—and remains—that he can't offer Damascus any positive inducement to withdraw. Assad wants an agreement on disengagement of forces in the Bekaa, but once he accepts that, he will give up what little bargaining power there is left for him to negotiate for the return of the Golan Heights. That territory, formally annexed by Israel last December, is not on any American or Israeli negotiating agenda.

The administration reasoned that the only way to make progress with the Syrians in Lebanon was to increase Arab pressure on Assad. The idea—pushed hard by Henry Kissinger—was to reopen talks on the Palestine issue with an offer on the West Bank and Gaza that would appeal to the Saudis, Syria's principal financiers, the Jordanians, elements of the PLO, and the West Bank Palestinians. If a Palestinian settlement looked possible, the administration calculated, then Syria would be forced into negotiations on Lebanon as well. Otherwise, it risked being isolated from the other Arabs, while Jordan and the Palestinians picked up the only territorial concessions going, and the Golan was left off the agenda forever.

First U.S. decision?

When accepted by the president at the August 14 Camp David meeting, the U.S. negotiating plan depended for its effectiveness on intense Israeli pressure. Threats of annexation and expulsion of the Palestinian Arabs from the West Bank and Gaza and of Israeli moves to subvert King Hussein in Jordan were essential to get the Arabs in a negotiating mood.

But as Secretary of State George Shultz told a closed-door meeting with many Senators on August 17, the administration wasn't planning a high-visibility initiative. He said he wanted to reassure them that there would be no surprises for the Senate or for Israel. The president wanted to avoid making a major public speech—one of the recommendations of the Near Eastern bureau of the State Department—or appointing a new Mideast negotiator, because, Shultz explained, they would only increase public pressure for results and heighten tensions in Israel and among Israel's supporters in Congress. The last thing the administration wanted was what one official described as "another AWACS issue."

Shultz told the Senate the administration intended to ignore the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) and undermine whatever international gains PLO leader Yasir Arafat had made in Beirut. Other officials indicated that this would involve a covert effort to provoke the Syrian-aligned PLO factions into "terrorism," splitting the movement, weakening Arafat's control and perhaps even introducing Palestinian violence within the U.S. Hints of this have already begun to surface from FBI leaks to the press.

The U.S. would never permit a Palestinian state to emerge on the West Bank, Shultz said. But he hinted that some combination of Israeli troop withdrawals, Israeli security zones, demilitarized areas of mixed Jewish and Arab population and association of Palestinian Arabs with Jordan could be a compromise acceptable to all. Jordan was chosen as the ben-

Continued on page 8

IN SHORT

Let the sunshine in

Smog has become as much a part of Los Angeles' public image as surf, sun and fun. But not content to remain the air-pollution-alert capital of America, local officials have unveiled an environmental blueprint they say will bring the region into compliance with the 1987 deadlines for all but one of the federal pollution standards. The only outstanding pollutant would be ozone, which officials say will take 20 years to curtail.

But to erase its reputation as smogville, L.A. will need to alter its image in other ways too. Increased use of bicycles, buses, ride sharing and walking to work are cornerstones of the plan, and the city's favorite pastime—cruising the freeways—might eventually be replaced by riding the rapid transit lines. Home computers and telephone business conferences are other proposals to decrease commuters' auto traffic, the region's prime pollution problem. Dry cleaners, airlines and gasoline refineries might also be affected by the plan. A recently approved half-cent hike in the Los Angeles County sales tax, some of which will be used for slashing bus fares and a proposed subway project, means the clean air campaign might be getting off on the right track.

Peaceniks harassed in USSR

Leaders of the American movement for a nuclear weapons freeze are spearheading an attack on the Soviet government for squelching peace protests there. In a recent letter to Leonid Brezhnev, 20 peace activists urged the release of Sergei Batovrin, leader of the USSR's most prominent pacifist group, from a mental institution where he has been placed. In addition, a dozen groups—including the American Friends Service Committee, the War Resisters League, the Fellowship of Reconciliation, SANE and the Democratic Socialists of America—were on hand at an August 25 demonstration outside the Soviet UN mission where Mikhail Ostrovsky, another Soviet peace activist who has sought asylum in the U.S., told demonstrators, "Soviet authorities want Sergei out of the way—his ideas have sparked a movement, which could be of embarrassment to them."

"We saw that governments are too greatly burdened with their own interests and political considerations to resolve disarmament conflicts," Ostrovsky added. "We feel there is a need for the Soviet public to become involved in these issues."

A message from on high

"We know no more sinister power and threat to the welfare of the human community than that flowing from corporate structures, which remove control of resources and decision-making from the people most affected." A Sandinista press release? A memo from the desk of Fidel Castro? After dinner remarks by Ralph Nader? No. This is from a letter signed by more than 35 bishops of the Episcopal Church—a well-to-do denomination often thought of as the favorite altar of America's ruling class.

The letter, released Labor Day at a convention of the 2.8 million-member church in New Orleans, was drafted by members of the Urban Bishops' Coalition, who noted, "Cities have become places of shocking contrast between wealth and poverty, opulence and decay." The bishops championed the right to unionize, advocated cooperative ownership of business enterprises and criticized exploitation of workers in the Third World. "The resources of the earth are the fruits of God's creation," the statement read, "who makes clear that all people deserve a fair share of those fruits."

Why did the ZOMO cross the road?

Unable to match the brute force of Polish riot police (ZOMO) in the streets, union activists have resorted to waging an underground war of humor against their heavily armed adversaries. According to the *New York Times*—a serious bunch not noted for falling easy prey to levity—these are some of the jokes being whispered across the cafe tables and shop counters of Warsaw.

- Two ZOMO officers are policing the sidewalks five minutes before curfew and spot a man passing on the opposite side of the street. One of them yanks out a revolver and shoots him dead. The other one asks, "Why did you do that—he still has five minutes to go?" "Yeah," says the first, "but I know him and he lives 15 minutes away."

- Q. Why do the police always work in groups of three?

- A. One to read, one to write and one to keep an eye on the two intellectuals.

- Q. How many riot police does it take to change a lightbulb?

- A. Only one—they know the world is turning.

Then there's the one about the Rubik's Cube specially designed for the riot squad—it's all black and takes only five minutes to solve.

—Jay Walljasper



Paul Cornstock

Steel talks break down

CHICAGO—Last June when United Steelworkers President Lloyd McBride announced talks with steel employers to "discuss" the industry's troubles, everyone assumed concessions were inevitable. Even unionists opposed to givebacks believed that with President McBride advocating cooperation with management and with steel mill utilization down to 42 percent of capacity, there would be insurmountable pressure on steelworkers to follow the lead of autoworkers and teamsters in accepting wage reductions.

But soon things began to go awry. First, McBride asserted that two steel companies might fail if the union did not find ways to help the industry, a gaffe that the *Wall Street Journal* called national attention to by reporting there was no information to support McBride's statement. When steelworkers realized their president had exaggerated the employers' problems, his credibility fell.

Then, when McBride called the members of the Basic Steel Industry Conference (BSIC) back to Pittsburgh on July 21, the session turned into a nightmare. One local president after another reported their members' dissatisfaction with the companies' arrogance and refusal to bargain. Ironically, it was Jack Parton, a McBride ally who recently unseated dissident steelworkers to become district director of the Chicago-Gary region, who assumed leadership of those criticizing industry bargainers. Parton avowed that he had never been able to understand the dissident leadership of Inland's Local 1010. He'd always thought them hard-heads who were too crazy to bargain with their employer, but now he understood—it was Inland that was arrogant.

One week later, negotiations broke down. The companies concession requests totaled \$6 billion over three years. This was far in excess of what President McBride offered the company—a \$2 billion package modeled after the UAW's agreements with Ford and GM. Rather than short-term relief to tide the industry

through its depression, it appeared that the steel companies were seeking a dramatic long-term reduction in labor costs.

Afterward, Bruce Johnston, chief negotiator for the industry, blasted the union leadership for taking a selfish view that neglected the needs of the unemployed. He then infuriated McBride by divulging aspects of the companies' negotiating proposals that would have benefited laid-off steelworkers.

At first, Johnston's tactic of dividing the union succeeded. In hard-hit locals many people were incensed that the union had refused to make concessions when so many local residents were out of work. But Johnston overreached himself when he sent out a letter to all of U.S. Steel's union-represented employees, emphasizing how the failure of talks would hurt the unemployed. This brazen attempt to pit the laid-

off workers against those still on the job backfired. Pro-union sentiment inside the mills is now growing according to Rob Persons, a union leader in East Chicago, Ind. "A lot of hatred is coming out as people realize how the company is attacking the union."

The corporate attacks on the union have spawned bitterness that hinders any attempts at developing a Japanese-style spirit of cooperation between the workers and the steel companies. McBride's weakened position makes it less likely that negotiators could reach early agreement on a new concessions package, or even that the union can come to any consensus at its biennial meeting later this month. So unless the economy picks up, there could be a long and angry strike in the summer of 1983.

—David Bensman
and Jack Metzgar

Republican moderates make some headway

WASHINGTON—Given up for dead two years ago, the moderate wing of the Republican Party is now enjoying a surprising political renaissance.

In Connecticut, Sen. Lowell Weicker, the Republican maverick who only months ago was targeted for extinction by the right wing of the party, sidelined his conservative Republican challenger Prescott Bush, the vice-president's brother, even before the first primary vote was cast. And in this summer's New Jersey primary, Millicent Fenwick overcame conservative Jeff Bell, the leading political guru of the supply-side forces within the Reagan administration.

In Washington, Howard Baker, Senate majority leader, has increasingly played a prominent role in moderating and lending some coherence to the administration's economic policies as they are debated on Capitol Hill. In foreign affairs, Sen. Charles Percy has become an increasingly independent voice reminiscent of Arkansas' dovish Democrat, former Sen. J. William Fulbright, during the early days of the Vietnam war. Sen.

Robert Stafford of Vermont plays a key role in environmental matters, a subject that has long been a major province of liberal Republicanism.

The Ripon Society, around which the moderate Republicans cluster, is also enjoying a revival, complete with beefed-up fundraising operations and a list of 20 or more prominent congressional sponsors. Jim Leach, a Representative from Iowa and president of the Ripon Society, has issued a "moderate manifesto" that is somewhat reminiscent of liberal Democrats. Leach argues for curbs on aid to El Salvador, a decrease in military spending, moves toward nuclear disarmament, maintenance of regulations, closing corporate tax loopholes and programs supporting women's rights and protecting the environment.

But whether the renaissance of the liberal and moderate Republicans indicates a general shift throughout the country toward the middle-ground in politics, or is merely a quirk of an unappetizing election year, is still too early to tell.

—James Ridgeway, PNS

MANVILLE

Asbestos victims face frustration

By Paul Glickman

OAKLAND

MANVILLE CORPORATION'S August 26 filing for reorganization under Chapter 11 of the federal bankruptcy law sets the stage for a radical overhaul of the compensation system for U.S. workers disabled by exposure to asbestos. Despite loud protests and vows by asbestos lawyers to fight the move in court, Manville has taken a major step in what some observers see as a long-term effort to avoid paying millions of dollars in compensation to thousands of asbestos victims. Another part of Manville's strategy will unfold in Congress, where the asbestos industry is gearing up to lobby for the creation of a federal compensation fund for disabled and diseased workers.

By filing for reorganization under Chapter 11, Manville is protected from its creditors and all litigation against the company is frozen. Yet Manville freely admits it is far from bankruptcy.

The move has touched off a storm of protest. Attorney Ronald Motley, who represents former asbestos workers in South Carolina, calls the reorganization "a perversion of the bankruptcy laws." Jim Vermeulen, executive director of the Asbestos Victims of America, says "Manville's trying to do what Chrysler and New York did—get the taxpayers to bail them out."

Immediately after Manville's announcement more than 50 lawyers met for four days of strategy sessions in South Carolina and New York. These attorneys represent most of the 16,000 asbestos claimants in the U.S. Steve Wodka, who works at the Washington, D.C., office of Dallas asbestos lawyer Fred Baron, says the New York meeting produced an agenda for action.

"I can't be too specific," says Wodka, "but we will fight Johns-Manville on a broad front, not just in bankruptcy court. There's a whole host of things we're going to do." Wodka says the lawyers will ask that the freeze on all asbestos litigation be lifted, and they will oppose any kind of federal bailout for Manville.

While Wodka promises a legal challenge to Manville's right to file under Chapter 11, other attorneys believe the asbestos firm has found a clever way to exploit the law. Los Angeles bankruptcy lawyer Ronald Orr believes the Manville action is "unique...but not an abuse of the bankruptcy system." And George Kilbourne, an attorney for asbestos victims in northern California, thinks Manville is "on legally solid ground" with its Chapter 11 petition. He notes that the bankruptcy law allows a company to use Chapter 11 after estimating that its future liabilities will exceed its assets.

To that end Manville conducted a nationwide survey that concluded as many as 35,000 more people will file suits against the company by the turn of the century. At an average cost of \$40,000 per suit in legal fees, court costs and settlement payments, Manville calculates that by the year 2000 it will incur \$2 billion of liability, almost the net worth of the corporation. Manville vice-president of law G. Earl Parker says these estimates are "on the low side," adding, "...this is too big for us to handle alone."

Manville also maintains that its reor-

ganization will actually help workers seeking compensation for asbestos-related illness. Company officials point out that only 20 to 30 percent of all the money spent on lawsuits ends up in the hands of the injured worker. But a Justice Department official calls this argument "almost disingenuous" since Man-

ville itself spends so much money fighting individual workers' compensation claims.

Two billion dollars in court costs and settlement payments do present Manville with an uncertain financial future. But although attorney Kilbourne acknowledges that the large number of lawsuits against Manville makes its financial future uncertain, he believes that the Chapter 11 move was not spontaneous and was in fact part of a long-term corporate strategy. He also says the behavior of Manville's 23 insurance companies was "the immediate precipitating factor in the Chapter 11 decision."

All but one of Manville's insurance carriers reneged on honoring their policies with the firm. Manville has filed suit in San Francisco against its insurers, asking \$5 billion in punitive damages. The suit claims that the insurers' denial of coverage "so damaged Johns-Manville's operations and cash flow and so

Says former Manville worker Bob Speake, "I won't be around by the time we get another hearing."



Paul Glickman

One asbestos worker's story

"I was kinda shocked," former asbestos worker Bob Speake says of Manville's bankruptcy move. "But I expected them to come up with some crazy scheme to get out of this."

In February, a jury ordered Manville to pay Speake \$150,000 in compensatory damages for his asbestos-related illness. Manville appealed the award, and now the case is frozen while the bankruptcy court sorts out Manville's fiscal obligations.

"We're seven years getting through this thing," Speake says bitterly. "The jury gives the award and then you don't get a dang penny out of it. I won't be around by the time we get another hearing."

Speake worked for 33 years at a Johns-Manville plant in Pittsburgh, an industrial suburb in the greater San Francisco Bay Area. He describes working conditions at Johns-Manville before

the days of OSHA and government regulations this way: "There was no changing room or shower. You wore the clothes you worked in when you went home. You wouldn't believe how dusty the plant was. It was so thick you could hardly breathe. Some of the guys broke windows to get some air in there."

From 1942-52 Johns-Manville made pipe coverings at the Pittsburgh plant. "During the war I worked 12-14 hour shifts," says Speake. "For one stretch of 13 months, I worked seven days a week."

Speake began noticing he was having breathing problems around 1972. "It got tougher and tougher every day. I'd get up to go to work and almost come home 'cause it was just a chore to get there and back."

A Manville doctor told Speake in 1975 that he might have asbestosis, a chronic lung inflammation caused by prolonged inhalation of asbestos particles. His family doctor later confirmed the diagnosis.

A look at Speake's medical records at Johns-Manville shows his asbestosis progressing since the late '40s, but it took over 25 years for the company to

strained Johns-Manville's financial resources that reorganization proceedings had to be commenced."

An important part of Manville's attempt to avoid paying off all its asbestos claims is a push in Congress to lobby for compensation legislation favorable to the asbestos industry. Manville Vice-President G. Earl Parker says that without action by Congress (or Manville's insurance companies) "there's not a chance" that asbestos victims will receive any money. Attorney Baron sees such statements as an attempt by Manville "to force the government's hand. They want a bailout bill."

An industry lobbying group is currently drafting a bill to introduce in the next session of Congress. "It will be a total occupational disease bill," says a Manville representative. The bill would establish procedures for the creation of separate compensation funds for workers disabled by different occupational hazards. Each compensation fund would receive half its money from industry, and half from the government.

Vice-President Parker claims the federal government must share the burden of compensating asbestos victims who worked in shipyards during World War II. "They controlled the shipyards and designed the workplace," he says.

Few outside of the asbestos industry support this contention. One congressional source notes that Manville loses every time it tests this argument in court. The source notes that during the war most of the shipyards were run by private companies contracting with the government.

Manville will have an uphill struggle inserting the concept of government liability into any congressional legislation. The first hurdle for all asbestos compensation bills in the House is the subcommittee on labor standards, chaired by Rep. George Miller (D-Calif.). Miller has his own bill, HR 5735, which would also set up a compensation fund for victims of asbestos-related diseases. But he wants the asbestos industry to provide all of the money for the fund. The bill would also prohibit a worker from filing suit against an asbestos firm after receiving money from the compensation fund.

Rep. Millicent Fenwick (R-N.J.) has also introduced a bill to establish a compensation fund, and Sen. Gary Hart (D-Colo.) has his own version in the Senate. But a source close to Miller's subcommittee told *In These Times* that Miller's bill is the only piece of legislation that has a serious chance of passing.

While advancing its case in Congress, Manville has four months to come up with a reorganization plan for the bankruptcy court. Meanwhile, former asbestos workers now suffering from asbestosis or lung cancer may die before the legal issues raised by the reorganization are hammered out in the courts.

Paul Glickman is an intern at the Center for Investigative Reporting in Oakland.

tell Speake about his condition. He is one of the luckier asbestos victims because a jury already awarded him compensation when Manville filed for Chapter 11. A majority of those seeking compensation have not even reached the trial stage.

After Manville filed its petition August 26, corporate head John McKinney wrote a letter to the firm's creditors explaining Manville's decision. In the letter McKinney states that under Chapter 11 Manville will mainly be "restructuring our debts, including our obligations to you, other creditors and asbestos-health claimants. As soon as a plan for even-handed treatment of all the creditors is worked out, we expect the company to emerge from Chapter 11."

In other words, the former workers dying of asbestosis and lung cancer must wait their turn along with Manville's other creditors. And the legal process of sorting out Manville's fiscal condition could take up to seven years.

"Who's gonna be around?" asks Speake. "I don't need the money then—I need it now."

—Paul Glickman

NEW YORK

Can Mario Cuomo catch up to Koch?

By John B. Judis

NEW YORK

WITH THE REPUBLICAN and Democratic primary candidates expected to spend more than \$10 million, New York's gubernatorial campaign promises to be the most expensive ever. But the campaign's main interest is as a referendum on New York City Mayor Edward I. Koch. Koch's world-class political consultant David Garth is already floating balloons of a Mondale-Koch ticket in 1984 should Koch make it to the governor's mansion this November.

Koch's decision to run for governor was at least as unexpected as incumbent Hugh Carey's decision to retire. In December 1980, when Koch visited Jerusalem's Wailing Wall, he had publicly promised God that he would never seek another office than mayor. (He later told a reporter, "I promised God, not you!")

During his 1981 mayoral campaign, Koch vowed to be a three-term mayor. In an interview with *Playboy* this year, Koch expressed his disdain for the world outside New York city. ("Have you ever lived in the suburbs? I haven't but I've talked to people who have, and it's sterile. It's nothing. It's wasting your life.") But on February 22, three days before the *Playboy* interview hit the stands, Koch declared for governor.

Koch's primary opponent is Lt. Gov. Mario Cuomo, a moderate Democrat whom Koch narrowly defeated in the 1977 mayoral race. If he defeats Cuomo, he will probably face drugstore magnate and supply-sider Lewis Lehrman, who has already spent \$3 million of his own money and \$2.7 million of other people's wrapping up the Republican nomination.

Soon after his announcement, Koch captured most of the important white Democratic endorsements in the state. He received 61 percent of the delegate vote in the June Democratic State Convention. He also amassed a \$5 million war chest, much of it from New York City real estate developers dependent upon city largesse, with which he and Garth have bombarded state television viewers with images of Koch as a tough World War II infantry sergeant.

Because Koch will remain mayor if he loses the governor's race and will therefore be in a position to punish his enemies regardless of the outcome, most municipal unions are backing Koch, and other important unions, like District 1199 (hospital workers), are remaining neutral. But the state AFL-CIO and most New York unions, angered by Koch's Brooklyn Bridge theatrics during the April 1980 transport workers' strike and his apparent appeasement of the Reagan administration, are backing Cuomo. Altogether, labor will have contributed about a fourth of Cuomo's \$1.1 million. Cuomo also has the support of most New York black leaders.

In early polls, Koch was reportedly as much as 20 percent ahead of Cuomo. But by mid-summer, Cuomo had pulled within 10 percent of Koch, with Koch leading in New York City and its ethnic suburbs and Cuomo ahead everywhere else. In one Gannett poll of the most likely (and therefore most liberal) Democratic voters, Cuomo held a slight lead over Koch. But few political observers expect that Cuomo has a chance in the September 23 primary against Koch's magical mouth.

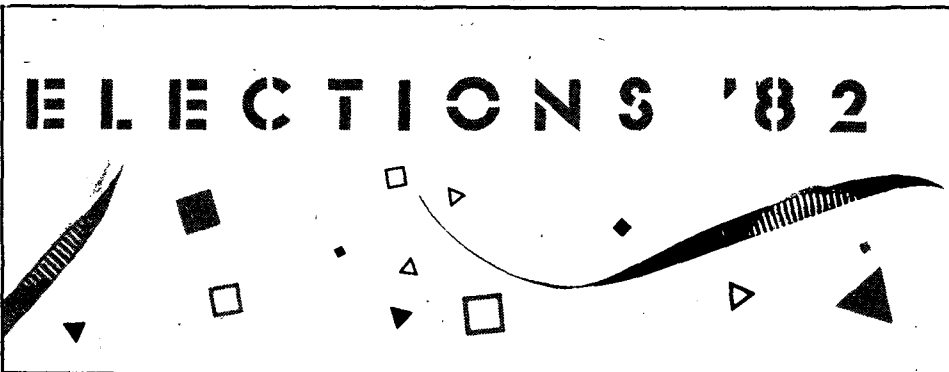
The Village reformer.

In an article last year, *Commentary* editor Norman Podhoretz admiringly described Koch as the perfect example of Irving Kristol's definition of a neoconservative: "a liberal who has been mugged by reality." While Koch styles

himself as a "center Democrat," he does not deny that his political views have altered over the years.

As a young lawyer in Greenwich Village, Koch campaigned for Adlai Stevenson in 1952 and 1956. After the 1956 election, he joined the Village Independent Democrats (VID), which had been formed to wrest control of Manhattan's Democratic Party from Carmine De

New York Mayor Edward I. Koch: "a liberal who has been mugged by reality."



Sapio's machine. In 1962, Koch became VID's president and the next year he defeated De Sapio to become the Party's District Leader. In 1968, he ran successfully for City Council in the traditionally Republican silk-stocking district on Manhattan's East Side that John Lindsay had represented before becoming mayor.

As a member of Congress, Koch was part of New York's ultra-liberal voting bloc, led by Rep. Bella Abzug. In 1972, he even scored 100 percent on the Americans for Democratic Action's annual voting ratings. But according to Koch, he began parting way with his more liberal colleagues in 1971 over the Forest Hills issue, when the city proposed erecting public housing for poor and presumably minority families in a white middle-

class Jewish neighborhood. Koch sided with the Forest Hills residents.

When Koch ran for mayor in 1973, he had to drop out for lack of funds. He was distrusted by liberals and conservatives alike. When he ran in 1977 under Garth's direction, he initially ran as the more conservative candidate against Cuomo and Abzug. Koch's main issue was his support of the death penalty and

reality. Speaking of his congressional career, Koch said in his *Playboy* interview, "You name it, and if it cost money I was for it, so long as it was 'good' for us. This is why I refer to myself as Mayor Culp. We did a lot of damage."

But when he rails against the '60s ("In the '60s...the values of integrity and hard work and industriousness no longer counted") or against his favorite target, "white liberal ideologues," Koch shows that his priorities have changed. He accuses Lindsay—along with Abzug, his prime example of a WLI—of neglecting New York's business and economy in favor of making it "welfare city" ("A welfare applicant would come in and claim he was entitled to benefits and he just got them!") and of ignoring the middle class in favor of the poor and minorities.

Koch, however, styles himself as the middle class's mayor. "In prior administrations, it was taboo to talk about the middle class," Koch explained earlier this year. "So it startled a lot of people to have a mayor come in and say, 'I think the middle-class lifestyle is terrific. I believe we oughta kiss the feet of the middle class for saving this town, since they're the ones who pay the taxes and create the jobs for the poor.'"

Koch articulates the self-satisfaction of the Italian, Irish and Jewish middle classes as having made it in America and their simmering resentment of "limousine liberals" from Park Avenue who want to deprive them of their gains in the name of "racial quotas." He also articulates their fear of crime as an alien menace to their ordered lives.

Koch's attitude toward capital punishment is often described by his critics as racist. It does reflect a refusal to see black criminals as a product of their environment—the corollary being that blacks and Hispanics should be treated no differently from other "ethnic" groups, whose success will depend on their individual efforts and whose misdeeds must be attributed to individual immorality rather than social oppression. Of course, Koch's view of capital punishment and crime also reflects a common view of deterrence and a Old Testament version of justice.

As mayor, Koch's apparent strategy has been to restore New York City's fiscal health through budget cuts and through keeping down city wage increases, while retaining popular support through the projection of his personality. And he demands that he be judged in the light of the economic limitations that surround New York—both from its past budgetary excesses (the diversion of its capital fund to meet immediate needs) and from the national recession. He says that the proper question for New Yorkers to ask is not whether they are better off now than when he took office, but instead, "Did Koch get the biggest bang for the buck?"

Even Koch's sternest critics admit that his administration has had some pluses. Koch is reputed to be both honest and hardworking and has demanded the same from his administration—a break from past tradition. Given the framework of New York's budgetary crisis, Koch also succeeded in balancing the city's budget and restoring its bond rating.

But Koch critics point to his relations with minorities and labor and his giveaways to business. Koch's use of racially charged rhetoric such as "poverty pimps" and his targeting of budget cuts against minority services like Manhattan's 119-bed Sydenham Hospital has earned him the almost unanimous ire of black officials, who regard him as a Jewish version of George Wallace. In his 1981 Democratic primary race against largely unknown assemblyman Frank Barbaro, Koch got only 24 percent of the

Continued on page 15

IN THE WORLD

MEXICO

More shock waves ripple from south of the border

By Thomas Brown

OAKLAND

THE NATIONALIZATION OF Mexican banks September 1 by outgoing President Jose Lopez Portillo has significance far beyond the Mexican border. It affects not only international banking, but also immigration policy now being debated in Congress and the global strategy of triateralism still struggling to be born at the highest levels of the U.S. government. Portillo's action is so important—and so well planned—that Treasury Secretary Donald Regan's complaint later that day that U.S. officials "weren't advised in advance" stretches well past the bounds of credibility.

In early August, Mexican Treasury Secretary Jesus Silva Herzog invited representatives of 55 foreign banks to a top-level meeting in New York City concerning the \$80 billion in Mexican public and private foreign debt. The banks responded by setting up an advisory committee of 14 banks for the August 19 meeting, among them Chase Manhattan, City Bank, Bank of America, Bankers Trust and Morgan Guaranty.

Six days before Herzog began these discussions, he met secretly in Washington, D.C.—according to Knight News Service—with Treasury Secretary Regan, Federal Reserve Board Chairman Paul Volcker and representatives of the International Monetary Fund (IMF). Those talks led to a U.S. agreement to deposit \$1 billion in a special account with the Fed in Mexico's name—prepayment for future purchases of Mexican oil to fill U.S. strategic oil reserves.

The meetings also led to an emergency request to the IMF for \$4.5 billion and a proposal drafted by Volcker to be presented at the IMF annual meeting September 6-9 for a \$25 billion emergency fund for use under threat of "generalized financial crisis." Clearly, the U.S. was committed to supporting the staggering Mexican economy—and in the bargain contracted for nearly one million barrels of Mexican oil a day at below market prices. Despite Portillo's four-hour denunciation of private banks, his nationalization plan was greeted with broad smiles by foreign bankers in New York. They now have the taxing authority of the Mexican government behind \$3.8 billion in loans to shaky private banks. The action also set a precedent for banking to become an administrative branch of government in cases of mismanagement or insolvency—thereby socializing the debts to the entire population.

The second major impact of the Mexican economic crisis is apparent at the U.S.-Mexican border. Border Patrol officers working out of El Paso are arresting illegal aliens in record numbers—as many as 1,200 a day—as Mexicans flee a domestic economy that now employs less than 50 percent of the work force, and many of those at barely subsistence wages.

Dele Musegades, deputy chief of the Border Patrol, El Paso, sector near El Paso, reports that apprehensions have increased 22 percent since the Mexican

peso was drastically devalued on August 10. More than 1,000 arrests a day is not unusual there, where 42 percent of the Border Patrol's apprehensions and more than a quarter of its resources are concentrated. "It has to relate to the devaluation of the peso," Musegades says. "And the timing is just about right for passing the new immigration bill."

Border Patrol figures, like FBI crime statistics, have long been used to bolster U.S. immigration policies. So Herman Baca, director of the Committee on Chicano Rights in the border town of National City, Calif., is immediately skeptical about the newly released figures. "The Border Patrol has a vested interest in the Simpson-Mazzoli [immigration] bill," Baca says. "It's already receiving \$65 million in additional aid from the

Reagan administration. Those figures will generate the hysteria necessary to pass the bill in the House this month."

Indeed, Musegades says the Border Patrol office in El Paso disclosed its arrest figures in the form of a press release. "That triggered all the questions from reporters here in California," he says. "Actually, our increase hasn't been all that great."

The Simpson-Mazzoli bill—known as the Omnibus Immigration Control Act—has already passed the Senate. It would implement a "streamlined" H-2 temporary work program for Mexican laborers, limited amnesty for illegal workers in this country to 1980 and criminal sanctions against employers who hire illegals. The bill also includes substantial Border Patrol increases intended to further regulate the flow of Mexican workers.

Dr. Leo Chavez, research director of the Center for U.S.-Mexico Studies in San Diego, says that "fear of the brown hordes" will definitely contribute to the pressure for passing the Simpson-Mazzoli. But he also admits that in the short term, immigration of both poor and middle-class Mexicans to the U.S. will increase.

"The bank nationalization and IMF loans will be followed by new restrictions on the [Mexican] economy causing more jobs lost," Chavez says. He anticipates IMF-mandated wage increase limits of 25 percent despite the current 100 percent rate of inflation. The peso devaluation

the Mexican economic failure is its implication for U.S. plans in the Third World. The peso's collapse is only the most recent economic disaster in the so-called "semi-industrial" nations. Mexico leads the way with \$80 billion in foreign debt, but Brazil staggers under \$74 billion in debts and Argentina carries \$40 billion. All are now negotiating payment schedules with their creditors to avoid default.

Trilateral strategy.

The David Rockefeller-inspired trilateral strategy, formulated in the mid-'70s and still represented by George Bush, Caspar Weinberger and George Shultz in the Reagan administration, projected an important supporting role for these same nations. They were among the new "international middle-class countries" that would become a second-tier industrial network for basic manufacturing and assembly in the global economy. They held substantial foreign exchange reserves, earned high prices for exports and had ready access to capital markets. Most maintained annual economic growth rates of 5 to 8 percent, in Mexico's case, creating one million new jobs a year.

The world recession—worsened by the tight credit policies of the Reagan and Thatcher governments—has changed all that. Commodity prices have plummeted, while the cost of manufactured goods and bank credit remain at record



Jose Portillo's nationalization plan for the banks was greeted with broad smiles by foreign bankers in New York City.

this summer has already reduced the minimum wage in Mexico to the equivalent of 89 cents an hour. That adds up to a strong incentive to cross the border, even at great risk and probably exploitation in the U.S.

Ironically, the passage of a restrictive immigration bill comes at a time when Portillo would like to be rid of his country's surplus workers. "Immigration is a great safety valve for the Mexican government," Baca says. "Now more than ever, Portillo wants the unemployed out."

Baca believes that Mexican immigration is a "created" problem, caused by the increased penetration of the Mexican economy by U.S. corporations. "The prime cause is economic domination from the North," he says. "Immigration is the trade off for the millions of dollars taken out of the country." He thinks that Simpson-Mazzoli will do nothing to resolve the root causes of labor migration across the border.

The final and most lasting result of

levels. Growth rates have flattened to below 2 percent, and will dip below zero in Mexico. Yet at the Versailles Summit in July, the seven biggest capitalist countries talked mainly about exchange rates, inflation and trade protections. Only French President Mitterrand brought up the long-delayed North-South negotiations, and the matter was postponed. The trilateral strategy, involving shared markets and cooperation with the Third World seems dead in the water.

The economic peonage of what were the strongest countries in Latin America helps explain the big power disinterest at Versailles. Rather than capitalist cooperation in the '80s, the elephants apparently intend to dance among the chickens—"each for himself and God for all of us." It's vintage Ronald Reagan, but potentially disastrous for global capital. Mexico could be the prototype: the number three U.S. trading partner, the number one exporter of oil to the U.S., and, in William Baca's view, "an economic vassal state" where 55 percent of the labor force can't find work.

Reagan

Continued from page 3

eficiary of the West Bank negotiations because the administration judged that Hussein was highly vulnerable to U.S. pressure, because he had the credibility to become the "legitimate representative" of the Palestinian Arabs in the Israeli-held territories, and because Israel itself had expressed some willingness to make a deal with Hussein.

There were two catches in this plan. The first was that it had to be vague enough to appear to promise more to the Arabs—at least Palestinian self-determination and statehood. Without that, there is no hope that the Palestinians living outside the West Bank and Gaza would ever be able to return. The other catch was that the plan had to be precise and limited enough to preserve Israel's support—no self-determination, no statehood, no return of the refugees. The administration wanted no conflict with Israel, but it also knew that without noisy objections from Jerusalem, nothing it promised the Arabs would appear credible and thus encourage the Arab League summit meeting to authorize King Hussein to enter negotiations. Though Shultz publicly rejected Palestinian statehood in a TV interview on August 22 and Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger did the same on TV the next day, their vagueness, together with the combination of Israeli suspicions and Palestinian hopes,

led to a round of letters and consultations the State Department launched in the last week of August.

Once again the Arabs were told that if they didn't accept an American initiative, Washington couldn't stop formal annexation of the West Bank and Gaza, or prevent a mass expulsion of the Palestinians into Jordan. The Jordanians, Egyptians and Saudis replied with a request for a clear U.S. initiative. The administration promised a presidential statement some time in September.

Some Palestinian officials believed the decision had been made in Washington to offer them a demilitarized state, with Jordanian sovereignty as the temporary cover for it. That optimism fed the suspicion of Israeli officials, and their reactions, reported in the Israeli press, reinforced the Arab perception that a dramatic shift in U.S. policy was about to occur. But in his August 31 letter to Prime Minister Menachem Begin, President Reagan restated traditional American positions, several in terms similar to those proposed by Begin himself in a *New York Times* interview on August 28. There was no positive statement of sovereignty—Israeli or Jordanian—in the Reagan letter, but the Israelis decided to put the issue to a test by going public. That forced the White House to schedule the president's statement much earlier than they had wanted.

The small print.

The text—worked on by Howard Teicher, the only member of the National Security Council staff ever to have graduated in Hebrew from a kibbutz—produced a

backdown from the August 31 letter on several points.

In earlier State Department drafts, Reagan was to have cautioned against setting up the village league authority with which Israel is replacing the elected Palestinian mayors and municipal councils. That advice was dropped. So too was any mention of voting rights for an autonomous authority for the Arabs of East Jerusalem, a point at odds with the Israeli annexation of the Arab half of the city.

In his letter Reagan had defined the American view of "full autonomy" as covering people, land and resources, including water. The Begin government on the other hand defines autonomy to cover only people, not land, and it has already taken legal control of the West Bank's water. In his speech the day after the letter, the president conceded this point by omitting specific mention of land or water. Finally, he added a paragraph after the text had been distributed to the press. This spoke reassuringly about Israel's final borders in terms indicating his rejection of withdrawal by Israel's forces to the 1967 lines.

Few senior State Department officials expected before the Reagan speech that there could be any significant movement on the Palestine issue soon, and they will probably be right. But the White House calculated, that if it couldn't keep the issue quiet and was forced into a public zig-zag of offers, denials, clarifications and concessions on all sides, it would risk satisfying no one, and appear once again to be Begin's lackey.

For the immediate future, Israel's re-

jection of the Reagan initiative and the challenge of the new settlements will be good domestic politics for everybody. The White House can posture as independent of Israel while evading a decision on sanctions, as it has in the past. The Begin government could escalate by going to early elections and win a majority of seats in the Knesset—a first-ever majority government in Israel's history, according to the poll projections. But Begin can stop short of that and test the ambiguity of Israeli opinion toward the legal future of the occupied territories in the context of an us-and-them challenge from the U.S.

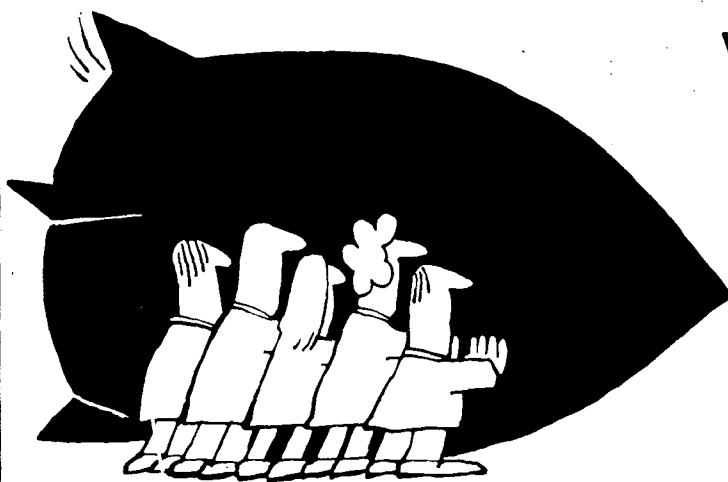
The Arab states and the PLO can claim that they are slowly swinging Washington from its pro-Israel alignment, vindicating the PLO's stand in Beirut. Finally, President Assad, the last Arab who can cause either Israel or the U.S. serious trouble in the Mideast, can reject the plan as a sell-out with nothing in it for the Palestinians, the PLO or himself. He and Arafat will be able to resume speaking to one another and rally the Palestinian factions to Syria's side. Between now and the uncertain future there is time—and that, too, is what the Reagan initiative gives everybody.

But time in the Mideast has a way of cheating the best-laid plans and the most confident of expectations. For the moment, the Reagan administration thinks it can have Lebanon, Egypt and Jordan in its pocket, and that Syria's political power will be neutralized by Saudi cash and the 175-mm guns Israel has trained on the minarets and domes of Damascus.

But the White House is forgetting Nuri Said's advice. The administration doesn't remember either that the warning finger Nuri once wagged at schemes to buy Syria ended up chopped from the prime minister's hand and dispatched as a gift from Iraq's first revolutionary government to Washington's Arab nemesis, Gamal Abdel Nasser.

Claudia Wright is the Washington correspondent of the New Statesman (London), Temoignage Chretien (Paris) and Ethnos (Athens).

TRAVEL WITH The Nation FACT-FINDERS



Visit Germany & The Netherlands

Explore The

EUROPEAN DISARMAMENT DEBATE

NOVEMBER 10-21, 1982

Meet with Leading Representatives of the Peace Movement, the Military,
Government & Political Parties

(The Tour coincides with German Peace Week, Nov. 7-17)

Package Price **\$1395***

TENTATIVE ITINERARY

Wednesday Nov. 10—Leave New York City (evening)

Thursday Nov. 11—West Berlin—American/NATO decision to deploy Pershing 2 and cruise missiles on European soil: Briefing by NATO staff (evening)

Friday Nov. 12—West Berlin—Response of the Peace Movement to Rearmament: Lecture, slide show, discussions and workshops (morning & afternoon)

Saturday Nov. 13—West Berlin—City Politics and Community Organizing in Berlin: Alternative bus tour of city with lecture and discussions (afternoon)

Sunday Nov. 14—East Berlin—History of Fascism: Visit to Sachsenhausen concentration camp (morning); Politics of Peace in the German Democratic Republic: Visit with government representatives (afternoon)

Monday Nov. 15—Dortmund—East/West Trade, the Gas Pipeline Deal and U.S. Foreign Policy: Visit turbine or pipe factory (afternoon); viewpoints of Industry, Labor and representatives from the foreign offices of West Germany and the Soviet Union (evening)

Tuesday Nov. 16—Dortmund—Nuclear Power and Alternative Energy: Visit nuclear power plant at Hamm (morning & afternoon); Green Party, ecologists and alternative economists (evening)

Wednesday Nov. 17—Cologne—War & Reconstruction: Slide show and lecture on WWII bombing raids (morning); walking tour of old section of the city (afternoon)

Thursday Nov. 18—Bonn—Disarmament Politics, Parliamentary Parties and the 1984 Federal Elections: Talks and discussions with Christian Democrats (morning), Social Democrats (afternoon)

Friday Nov. 19—Amsterdam—Disarmament Politics and Parliamentary Parties in Holland: Talks and discussions with Workers' Party, Christian Democrats, Pacifist Socialist Party, Communist Party-Netherlands (afternoon)

Saturday Nov. 20—Amsterdam—The Peace Movement and Alternative Politics: Representatives of various social movements (afternoon)

Sunday Nov. 21—Return to New York City

(*per person based on double occupancy—includes all transportation, lodging and food, except dinner on five open evenings)

The Nation FACT-FINDERS

72 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10011

I'm interested in The Nation FACT-FINDERS Tour to Germany and The Netherlands, November 10-21, 1982. (Limited spaces available—reservation deadline October 15, 1982.)

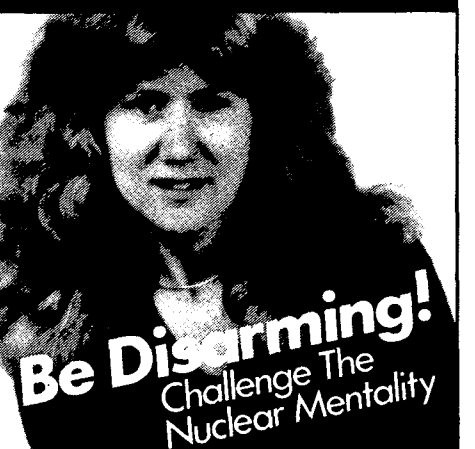
- ☐ RESERVE space for me.
Enclosed is my check for \$_____. (\$200 deposit required for each person—no penalty on cancellations made before September 20, 1982.)
- ☐ I'M INTERESTED, send more information.

Name _____

Address _____

City _____

State/Zip _____



Be Disarming!
Challenge The Nuclear Mentality

HOLLY NEAR On Tour

9-2 to 20 Europe	11-6 Ann Arbor, MI
9-24 Seattle, WA	11-7 Cleveland, OH
9-25 Saskatoon, Sask.	11-9 Winnipeg, Man.
10-1 Morgantown, WV	11-10 Duluth, MN
10-3 Philadelphia, PA	11-12 Milwaukee, WI
10-5 Rochester, NY	11-13 Madison, WI
10-6 Ottawa, Ont.	11-15 Minneapolis, MN
10-8 Utica, NY	11-16 Iowa City, IA
10-9 Albany, NY	11-17 Columbia, MO
10-10 Lewiston, ME	11-19 Kansas City, MO
10-12 Orono, ME	11-20 Denver, CO
10-13 Canton, NY	11-21 Albuquerque, NM
10-15 Toronto, Ont.	11-29 Chico, CA
10-16 Syracuse, NY	12-2 Tallahassee, FL
10-18/19 New York, NY	12-3 Ft. Lauderdale, FL
10-22/23 Boston, MA	12-5 Atlanta, GA
10-24 Northampton, MA	12-8 New Orleans, LA
10-29 Nashville, TN	12-10 Houston, TX
Dance w/ Afrikan Dreamland	12-11 Austin, TX
10-31 Washington, DC	12-12 San Diego, CA
11-3 N. Manchester, IN	12-14 Santa Barbara, CA
11-4 Muncie, IN	12-17 Los Angeles, CA
11-5 Chicago, IL	12-18 Berkeley, CA

*Tentative dates subject to change
Information: REDWOOD RECORDS 415/428-9191

Make Room For SPEED OF LIGHT A New Album By Holly Near

Look for it in local stores or send \$8.50 (US Dollars) to REDWOOD RECORDS, 476 West MacArthur Blvd., Oakland, CA 94609. (Cal residents add 45¢ tax per album). Also available on cassette.

PHILIPPINES

By A. Lin Neumann

MANILA

NOW IN THE SIXTEENTH YEAR of his rule, President Ferdinand Marcos of the Philippines is getting ready to go visiting.

The last several weeks in Manila have been hectic as the government tightens control over the opposition here in anticipation of his September 15 visit to Washington, D.C. In quick succession, top labor leaders have been arrested and accused of subversion, a prominent Manila politician was singled out for attack, a huge task force of "secret marshals" has been turned loose with shoot-to-kill orders against muggers on public transit and the lines of succession in the event of the president's death have been "clarified," apparently to confirm first lady Imelda Marcos' place in the line of succession.

He recently appointed a force of 1,000 secret marshals...

These events have inspired fear of a possible reimposition of martial law. Lifted officially in 1981, it was declared in 1972 during a campaign by Marcos to create the impression that the country was on the brink of anarchy and chaos. Recent government declarations hint at plans for a coup to be led by "radical labor leaders" and rampant crime in the streets. Both charges give observers here an eerie feeling of déjà-vu.

In an August 8 speech celebrating the founding of the Philippine Constabulary, the president declared, "You cannot kill all of us. Some of us will be here to finish you!" Shaking with anger, he referred to a plot "uncovered" by the military to undermine and sabotage the government through a series of strikes to be staged on the eve of his visit to Washington. The May First Movement (KMU in Filipino), an independent left-of-center federation of trade unions that claims 500,000 supporters, was said to be responsible for the plot. Subsequently, Felixberto "Bert" Olalia, the 79-year-old head of the KMU, was arrested and most of the leadership was driven underground.

KMU spokesman Cipriano Malonzo, 82, said the president was attacking the federation because "The KMU is the most militant and outspoken at mobilizing its membership for mass demonstrations to denounce the oppressive situation here." But Malonzo denied that the KMU was out to topple the government. "We are against the oppressive power of the multinational corporations, not the administration," he asserted.

Another KMU leader, who requested anonymity, said, "Other groups may be involved in such a plot but not the labor group." The source acknowledged that the outspoken Olalia, a patriarch of the Philippine labor movement, had made inflammatory statements but that he had no organizational support. The source blamed the current economic crisis in the Philippines for the crackdown and asserted that the government's intent was to declare the KMU illegal.

KMU actions have indeed proved irritating to the Marcos regime. A June KMU-led general strike in the Export Processing Zone in Bataan, a foreign enclave and development showcase, was the first of its kind in Asia and a profound embarrassment to zone officials who cite "labor peace" as the main reason for investment in the project. But the arrest of Olalia and number two KMU man Crispin Beltran may prove embarrassing since government declarations in the docile press have not been backed up with promised evidence of the plot.

The government was further embar-



President Ferdinand Marcos

Manila braces for Marcos visit to the United States

rassed in August by the airing in Britain of a BBC documentary on the Philippines that featured the views of independent nationalist and former senator Jose Diokno. Part of the "Third Eye" series, the program reportedly turned to Diokno after being rebuffed by the administration. The documentary was not shown on local television but was made avail-

able to the foreign press. In it, Diokno attacks the Marcos regime for its oppressive policies, lack of democratic practice and heavy reliance on American support for its continued existence. Diokno was singled out by the president in his August speech and said to be "walang hiya" (without shame), a Filipino epithet just a hairbreadth away

from obscene.

But perhaps the most chilling development in the wake of the Marcos tirade has been the installation of secret marshals on public transport. Responding to reports of increased crime on public vehicles, Marcos appointed a force of 1,000 secret marshals, armed with automatic weapons and dressed in civilian clothes, to ride "shotgun" through the streets of Manila. More than 50 deaths were reported in the first few days of the program, leading citizens to wonder whom these marshals are training their guns on. As Diokno said, "In a decent civilized society you don't go around shooting people." A source in the underground Communist movement said, "We are certain they will begin using these marshals to eliminate opponents."

Another factor in the visit, inextricably tied to the above events, is the Reagan policy of support for authoritarian regimes. Marcos has not visited the U.S. since 1965, and the Philippine leader has clearly been an embarrassment to recent administrations. The current favorable climate in Washington may also be prompted by the upcoming 1984 negotiations on the presence of American military bases in the country. In a September 6 news conference here Marcos said he planned to discuss defense with Reagan, including a possible reassessment of agreements on the two U.S. military bases in the Philippines. Presidential spokesman Adrian Christobal had earlier said Marcos' main goal would be to increase U.S. aid and investment in the slumping Philippine economy. As a State Department official told this reporter in July, "We are doing what we naturally do for a friend and an ally... it [the visit] was long overdue and a very natural thing for us to do."

The visit has also reactivated debate here concerning what role the first lady would play in a future administration. She recently was named to the Executive Committee, the body that would constitutionally hold power in the event of the president's death. The appointment is widely seen as giving the go-ahead for Imelda Marcos' succession to the throne in the event of Marcos' death. "Those who do not like the first lady now know that the matter of succession is closed and non-negotiable," said Diokno in a meeting with foreign correspondents. "She will succeed him." The first lady,

...to ride "shotgun" in civilian clothes through the streets of Manila.

who is already governor of Metro-Manila, Minister of Human Settlements, and a roving ambassador for her husband, is not well-liked by most members of the nation's armed forces or by key foreign investors, according to reports. Her rise to power would certainly be followed by fierce infighting in the military and the administration.

While the guerrilla movement led by the New People's Army gathers strength in the hills—the government acknowledges the existence of 34 guerrilla "fronts" in rural areas—and the government seems unable to stem the tide of labor, the current moves in Manila appear designed to counter any suspicions Washington may have about Marcos' control over the country. By "exposing" a plot that is said to include labor, traditional oppositionists and what Marcos calls "pseudo-intellectuals," the government can crack down without facing charges of repression from the U.S. Reliable sources confirm the existence of a list of 500 names slated for possible detention in the event of increased opposition activity in the next few weeks.

A. Lin Neumann, a New York writer, lived in the Philippines in 1977 and 1978.

LETTERS

IN THESE TIMES is an independent newspaper committed to democratic pluralism and to helping build a popular movement for socialism in the United States. Our pages are open to a wide range of views on the left, both socialist and non-socialist. Except for editorial statements appearing on the editorial page, opinions expressed in columns and in feature or news stories are those of the author and are not necessarily those of the editors. We welcome comments and opinion pieces from our readers.

BLANCHARD VS. FERENCY

AS A REGULAR SUBSCRIBER AND reader of *In These Times* I take exception to the article on the primary race for governor of Michigan (ITT, Aug. 25). The defeat of Zolton Ferency and the winning of Jim Blanchard is presented as if this was a disaster. For whatever it is worth, when I was a citizen of Michigan (for more than eight years), I supported Ferency in some of his campaigns. But Jim Blanchard as a candidate is much preferable. Jim is a personal friend of mine and was my representative...and a very able one at that!

In spite of all Ferency's good points, and granted he has many, he cannot hold a candle to my good friend Jim Blanchard.

As a long-time liberal Democrat, he is not always as liberal as I might like, but he is honest, compassionate and a hard-working person concerned about the people in his district. My big regret is that I was not in the state to help him directly. Jim will make a great Governor of Michigan. I am hoping for the best for him and the people of Michigan.

—Phil H. Dunning
York, Maine

PLEASE EXPLAIN

ANGER, DISGUST AND, MOST OF ALL, betrayal accurately describe my feelings concerning the recent article about Zolton Ferency's gubernatorial bid in Michigan (ITT, Aug. 25). As the writer says, this miscarriage of justice will surely raise some serious questions about the relationship between the Democratic Socialists of America (DSA) and the United Auto Workers (UAW). There will also be some hard questions to be answered by the DSA leadership. Must we wait for the reincarnation of Debs or Thomas before we support socialist candidates? What

will the future hold for other DSA members wishing to run for office? Is money the bottom line? And what in the hell will James Blanchard do for the democratic left that Ferency would not do? I am truly puzzled. What is the real DSA strategy?

I ask these questions out of ignorance of the situation in Michigan. Perhaps there are some sensible answers or some deep inner logic that made the Ferency campaign unsupportable. If so, I wish someone would please explain. From all the ads that appeared in papers and magazines, I thought Ferency was one of us. The outline of his program sure sounded like ours. If for some unknown reason we could not support him, why didn't someone put out the word? The campaign money sent him from all over the nation could then have been spent on many more useful projects. If the democratic left continues to operate like this, we will lose what little respect and trust we have among various constituencies. The right will not have to worry about working to destroy our visions of the future, they will merely wait until we self-destruct.

Whatever the reasons for this onerous outcome, I thank ITT for its straightforward and honest reporting. Please renew my sub for one year.

—Bill Yates
Seattle, Wash.

KEEPING POSTED

ENCLOSED FIND \$50 FOR A ONE-YEAR renewal to *In These Times*. In this era of Raygun, you are a great companion and a much-needed source of information about progressive causes around the world. Your articles often end up pasted to my office door so other federal workers can get a glimpse of the alternatives to "business as usual."

We need you too much to lose you now.

—Lewis Morris
Washington, D.C.

BOOST

I'M OUT OF WORK...OUT OF MONEY AND feeling down. But *In These Times* keeps me in touch and aware of the struggle of others. And in empathy there is strength.

My small contribution far from represents the morale boost I get from reading ITT.

—Karen Berney
Washington, D.C.

BLAMING THE VICTIM?

DIANA JOHNSTONE'S INSINUATION (ITT, Aug. 25) that Israel's secret service was responsible for the anti-Semitic murders in France defies belief. What is more outrageous is that the editors of *In These Times* chose to publish such insidious nonsense.

To suggest that the victims of the fascist crimes are responsible for the attacks is not a new phenomenon. The Nazis singled out the Communists and Jews for the burning of the German parliament building. White racists have often accused minorities as being culpable for the discrimination leveled against them.

Now we have an ostensibly "Independent Socialist Newspaper" claiming that fellow Jews were responsible for that massacre in Paris. If "anti-Semitism is the socialism of fools," count me out as a supporter of your foolish venture. *In These Times* no longer deserves the support of democratic socialists.

—Marshall Wittmann
Silver Springs, Md.

KNEE-JERK ANTAGONISM

DIANA JOHNSTONE'S SPECULATION on the motivation for the terrorist massacre in a Paris Jewish neighborhood is wildly off the mark (ITT, Aug. 25). Johnstone's knee-jerk antagonism toward Israel, and especially the Begin, Sharon, Shamir government, has been obvious for years. But in giving credence to the notion that the attack may have been engineered by the Israel secret service (Mossad) or by the CIA she has wandered into Diana's wonderland.

Seriously to conjure with the possibility that Israel plots anti-Jewish attacks in France (six in 14 days, including an attack on an Israeli embassy employee, a Jewish hardware store, a bank connected with the Rothschilds and a synagogue) is not journalism, it is undisguised, ugly anti-Israel bias.

Direct Action, a small anarchist group claimed credit for three of the attacks. The French police suspect the Rue de Rosiers gunning was the work of Black June, a dissident Palestinian group.

Johnstone's unrelenting bias also extends to President Bashir Gemayel's "fascist" Phalange that will "rule over a Maronite rump state," and, in her view, will continue to be "one of the world's foremost havens of international right-wing terrorism." More responsible reporting would require her to write that Paris is Europe's major center of terrorism, where "right-wing," "left-wing" and "no-wing" murderers have killed 20 and wounded 140 innocents since May of this year.

—Morris Alexander
Chicago

Diana Johnstone replies: An unfortunate element of confusion was added to this discussion by heavy editing of the last paragraph of my article. I did not write that it was "possible that the attack in Paris was engineered by" the Massad, the secret Syrian Service backing Abu Nidal, or perhaps even the CIA. Rather, I wrote that "The secret services interested in attacking France" included the Israeli Massad, perhaps even some segment of the CIA and the Phalange. The edited version has me saying much more than I intended. I did not accuse anyone of the Rue

des Rosiers. I wrote that some people were saying openly "that the Israeli secret service cannot be automatically taken off the list of suspects."

Le Matin, an important daily with Socialist leanings, reported August 11 that the weapons used in the Rue des Rosiers attack were the same type as those used in Vienna and London by the Abu Nidal, and added: "No track is ruled out. Neither the Palestinian track nor an implication of the Israeli secret services, certain investigators said yesterday."

Since then, Interior Minister Gaston Defferre has confirmed that the weapons used were the type used by Abu Nidal. But he has declined to accuse the Abu Nidal group on the basis of a single circumstantial piece of evidence. There are no other clues, and no other official suspects.

Simon Veil, who as a child was a prisoner in Auschwitz and who as Health Minister in Giscard's government became the most popular figure in French public life, made a statement August 12 noting that in both the October 1980 Rue Copernic and the recent Rue des Rosiers attacks, "international terrorism struck the most vulnerable target in the nation: The Jewish community is particularly emotional. It constitutes the best detonator for destabilizing the whole of French society." She recalled that after Copernic, "an impressively orchestrated campaign denounced the so-called anti-Semitic climate prevailing in France. I fought to demonstrate the contrary. There certainly is less anti-Semitism in France than in many other countries." Madame Veil pointed to two tasks: improve the fight against terrorism and get the Jewish community to listen to reason. "It should avoid giving in to provocation and committing errors under the effect of emotion," she said.

A background element, which is hard to document, has been the effort of Meir Kahane's Jewish Defense League to take root in France, especially among the Sephardic Jews more recently immigrated from North Africa, who are less integrated than the Ashkenazi Jews and can more easily misjudge the attitude of the French community.

A long investigative report, one year after Copernic, by Annette Levy-Willard, published in the leftist daily Liberation on Oct. 2, 1981, indicated that both "informed speculation" and "rumors in the Jewish community" attributed a series of machine gun attacks on Jewish buildings on the night of Sept. 25, 1980, to "a wretched imbecilic provocation by a few worked-up characters more Beginist than Begin," intended to cause a rupture between the Jewish and French communities. Why? To make the diaspora feel its dependence on Israel. Levy-Willard reported that police and community leaders did not want to voice these suspicions nor follow them up or fear either of being accused of anti-Semitism or of arousing it.

One ITT reader asks this pertinent question: "What is wrong with French Jews defending themselves?" The answer is that unlike the case of pogroms or Nazi attacks, they do not know who is attacking them, and thus risk falling into the trap of assaulting innocent bystanders. This happened after Copernic when a group of young men organized as "Jewish self-defense" threw acid in the face of an 80-year-old man whose only fault was to have the same last name as a pro-Nazi writer.

Responsible Jewish community leaders have all warned against the danger of being provoked by anonymous international terrorists into creating vigilante groups that could create a split that does not exist between the Jewish community and the rest of France.

The campaign to brand France as anti-Semitic and isolate French Jews from the rest of their country has fortunately been a failure—at least in France. It seems to have had more success in the United States.

Subscribe to IN THESE TIMES



"In These Times provides a unique filter for the world—a quick review of urban, labor, international, women's, and cultural news from a people's perspective."

Ruth Messinger
Member,
New York City
Council

☐ YES, I want to try **IN THESE TIMES**, the alternative newsweekly! I don't even have to enclose payment now—you'll bill me later. **MY GUARANTEE:** if at any time I decide to cancel, you will refund my money on all unmailed copies, with no questions asked.

☐ Send me 6 months for only \$12.95.

☐ Send me one year for only \$23.50.

☐ Payment enclosed. ☐ Bill me later.
☐ Charge my: ☐ VISA ☐ Master Charge

Acct. No. _____

Signature _____

Name _____

Address _____

City/State _____

IN THESE TIMES

1509 N. Milwaukee
Chicago, IL 60622

STM1

Nachum Goldmann

By Arieh Lebowitz

THE COMMUNITY SUPPORTING Jewish-Palestinian rapprochement and peace between Israel and its Arab neighbors has lost a long-time leader with the death of Nachum Goldmann at the age of 87 in West Germany on August 30. World statesman, progressive Zionist and tireless organizer within the world Jewish community, Goldmann's death is mourned around the world.

Born at the end of the last century in Visznevo, Lithuania, Goldmann belonged to a generation, the last of its kind, that played a unique role in Jewish life over the past 40 years. As he put it in his autobiography, his generation was rooted in Eastern Europe but educated in the West and combined many features of European culture, Eastern and Western, Jewish and non-Jewish. It was no accident, he pointed out, that individuals of his generation played a major role in the

A champion of Jewish-Arab reconciliation.

modern Zionist movement, for one of its characteristics was a synthesis of East and West.

He became committed to the Zionist cause as a child, and often entered debates between Zionists and anti-Zionists. In 1911, he attended his first Zionist Congress in Basel, Switzerland, and visited Palestine as part of a German Zionist student delegation in 1913. He stayed on after the visit was officially over, for a total of five months, acquainting himself with the political scene there. Goldmann's Zionism was not of a piece with that of the present leadership within Israel, but was, rather, in the Zionist tradition of commitment to Jewish-Arab amity. In this he was within the Zionist trend represented by Judah Magnes, Henrietta Szold, Haim Arlozoroff, Moshe Sharett, Arthur Ruppin, Martin Buber and Meir Yaari, among others.

Soon after the Balfour Declaration was signed in 1917, he wrote that vital as this British promise was to the dream of Jewish sovereignty, Arab acceptance of the renaissance Jewish homeland would be even more important. Throughout his life, the quest of Jewish-Arab cooperation or at least co-existence—was a priority. In 1956 and again in 1979 he prepared to meet with Egyptian President Gamel Abdel Nasser, but the larger flow of political events made these meetings impossible. In his autobiography,

he clearly outlined his analysis of the situation:

"The fact that Jewish nationalism in the form of Zionism and the Arab nationalism that led to the rapid creation of a number of Arab states both occurred during the same period is suggestive. This parallel evolution seems to me to indicate that the two nationalisms are condemned either to live together or to destroy one another. If they are prepared to cooperate, they will not only be doing themselves a service; they will set the whole Middle Eastern region, where they are historically destined to live, on the road to un hoped-for progress. If, on the other hand, they continue to tear one another apart, as it sometimes seems they will, they may destroy each other, and the outlook for the Near East, which is preparing to become once again the great historical center it has been several times in the past, will finally collapse."

Just two months before his death, along with former French Prime Minister Pierre Mendes-France and former U.S. Commerce Secretary Philip Klutznick, he called on Israel to lift its siege of Beirut, and urged mutual recognition between Israel and the PLO. "Mutual recognition must be vigorously pursued...and there should be negotiations with the aim of achieving co-existence between the Israeli and Palestinian peoples based on self-determination," said the statement. "There must be a stop to the sterile debate whereby the Arab world challenges the existence of Israel and Jews challenge the political legitimacy of the Palestinian fight for independence," the statement continued. Dr. Issam Sartawi, a member of the Palestinian National Council, supported this statement, but it was widely criticized in Israel and abroad.

Nachum Goldmann worked for the German Foreign Ministry as head of their department on Jewish affairs during the first World War; he sought to persuade Turkey, a German ally in the war, to allow Jewish immigration to the Yishuv (pre-1948 Jewish community in Palestine) into what was then a province of the Ottoman Empire.

Goldmann was one of the first Jewish leaders to sense the immense threat of Nazism to the Jews of Europe, and was expelled by the Nazis in 1933, when he went to Geneva and worked as a representative of the Jewish Agency to the League of Nations. After moving to Geneva, he went on to Britain and then the U.S., where he was one of those who implored President Roosevelt—in vain—to bomb Auschwitz. One of his great regrets was that he was unable to convince world Jewry of the Nazi danger until it was too late.

Among the few who did listen to Goldmann was Dr. Stephen Wise, an influential American Reform rabbi and liberal

Zionist activist, who, together with Goldmann, formed the World Jewish Congress in 1936 to coordinate the struggle for Jewish rights around the world. As the president of the Congress from 1951 until 1978, Goldmann also helped establish other Jewish bodies in the aftermath of World War II, including the International Conference of Jewish Organizations, the Memorial Foundation for Jewish Culture and the Conference on Jewish Material Claims against Germany.

As early as 1945, Goldmann insisted that the German government pay reparations both to Israel and individual victims of the Holocaust. Many within the Jewish community were opposed and horrified at the idea of having any contact with a country whose policy just a few years before was genocide. At the time, the Jewish people were still reeling from the violent loss of one-third of their people, with the situation in the Yishuv uncertain, this proposal was extremely radical. It was not until 1951 that negotiations with West German Chancellor Konrad Adenauer started, and the historic Reparations Agreement was signed in 1952. In 30 years, the Federal Republic of Germany paid almost 86 billion marks, or \$36 billion. Reparations went to the State of Israel as partial compensation



World Jewish Congress/American Section

for the burden of rehabilitating survivors of the Holocaust, as well as to individual victims of the Nazi persecution, and to Jewish educational and cultural purposes around the world. The German Democratic Republic has paid no reparations to date.

Nachum Goldmann saw the moral significance of the agreement as more important than its financial aspect. "Here, for the first time a mighty nation had declared itself ready to make partial restitution for the wrong it had done a weaker people, and it had done this in response to an ethical imperative and out of its respect for moral law, not because of the force of a victor's military power. This agree-

ment," Goldmann concluded, "is one of the few great victories for moral principles in modern times."

While a part of the Jewish establishment, he was also of the loyal opposition. He was convinced that Israel must be neutral, not a part of either East or West. Goldmann always felt that it was necessary for both superpowers, the U.S. and the USSR, to participate in the peaceful resolution of conflict between Jewish and Palestinian nationalism. With six million Jews in the U.S. and three million in the Soviet Union, he was convinced that Israel must be neutral to avoid placing a large number of Jews in opposition to one or another of the competing "camps."

When in the '70s, Soviet Jews began to seek exit visas in large numbers, Goldmann fought against the stream that wanted only to "get the Jews out." Instead, he fought not only for the right of emigration, but also for the right of Jews to preserve their culture, religion and way of life within the USSR, as he accurately sensed that not all Jews wanted to leave the Soviet Union. This stance did not endear him to the Soviet Jewish advocacy "establishment."

In writings, meetings and pronouncements, Goldmann worked for a peaceful Israel at one with its neighbors in the Middle East. A Zionist who preferred freedom of action to membership in a political party, he turned down the mantle of Israeli citizenship and participation in the internal political life of the Jewish state. Always an activist, Goldmann had a clear Zionist vision of what Israel should become: "different from what it is today." The challenge facing his children was "to build an Israel that is not content with having the best army in the Near East, spending most of its resources on the acquisition of new armaments, and being proud of winning yet another war that solves nothing and in any case may end in disaster; to build an Israel that concentrates instead on religious, cultural and social creativity."

"The new Jewish youth," Goldmann contended, "must be a revolutionary. World Jewry, inspired by an Israel of peace and justice, must become a revolutionary movement. Not with barricades, bombs and terrorists, but as a champion of the war against poverty, illiteracy and inequality, for the abolition of the sovereign state, and for peace."

Nachum Goldmann was buried on Mt. Herzl, in Jerusalem, on September 2. The Jewish community and the Zionist movement have always had prescient and courageous men and women. He stood among them. He will be missed.

Arieh Lebowitz, a writer, is a member of the executive board of Americans for Progressive Israel, a socialist-Zionist organization affiliated with the World Jewish Congress-American Section.

Grassroots Politics in the 1980s

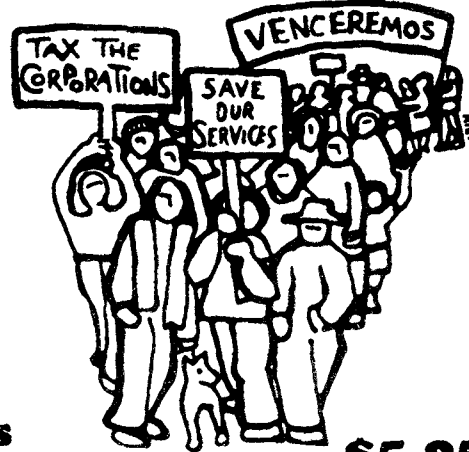
A unique book for activists, educators, community organizers

What happens when a grassroots electoral campaign challenges the Chamber of Commerce and the established powers in a large American city? *Grassroots Politics in the 1980s* tells the story of a three-year struggle in which people mobilized successfully to pass a progressive initiative for raising the taxes of San Francisco's big corporations.

Here is a book that can serve as a "how-to" manual in any city. Using computer print-outs,

precinct maps and voter feedback, it analyzes the effectiveness of street work, door-to-door canvassing, voter registration, and dropleafletting.

Grassroots Politics in the 1980s also looks at the contradictions of electoral politics. It shows that people-to-people campaign methods can beat commercial politics. Above all, it reveals the tremendous potential for building grassroots opposition to Reagan's austerity capitalism.



With tables, maps, statistical analyses, photos, and samples of campaign literature. 130 pp.

by the Institute for the Study of Labor and Economic Crisis

Order from: Synthesis Publications, Dept. 67a, P.O. Box 40099, San Francisco, CA 94140.

postpaid \$5.95

SCHOOLING

Segregationists have iron grip in L.A.

This is the second part of a two-part article on the Los Angeles public schools.

By Norm Fruchter

The Board's strategy was to play for time and white flight. They managed 18 years of delay and holding out against desegregation—few districts in the country have managed as well. But it's a cynical, even suicidal strategy. The schools are worse now than in '63.

—Joseph Duff, NAACP counsel, Los Angeles

IN 1963, THE PARENTS OF MAY Ellen Crawford filed a class action suit, sponsored by the ACLU, on behalf of "all Negro and Mexican-American pupils," charging the Los Angeles Board of Education with systematic and widespread school segregation. In 1970, L.A. Superior Court Judge Alfred Gitelson agreed that Los Angeles had "segregated, *de jure*, its students," created inferior minority schools and denied any responsibility for remedying its segregated system. In 1976, the California Supreme Court unanimously affirmed Judge Gitelson's decision and ordered L.A. to begin "reasonable and feasible steps to alleviate the harm of segregation regardless of cause—and



Sophie Rivera/LNS

suit. The Board submitted three successive desegregation plans, each depending on voluntary measures such as magnet schools, Permits with Transportation (PWT) and a one-way busing program for minorities to escape their neighborhood schools. The second and third plans included some mandatory student reassignment in the 4th through 8th grades. Approximately 29 percent of the district's schools and 7 percent of the district's students were involved—9 percent of the district's white students and less than 1 percent of the district's minority students.

Stopping desegregation.

Yet even this tiny step toward desegregation, initiated in September 1978 provoked strident resistance in white communities. Thousands of west LA and Valley parents refused to let their children attend their assigned schools. Some schools were picketed, bomb threats were made against school buses and their drivers, enrollment in private schools soared in the 4th-8th grades and breakfast nook schools appeared throughout the Valley.

The L.A. Archdiocese took a strong stand throughout this conflict, the Cardinal affirming the necessity for integration and insisting that diocesan schools would not aid white exodus from the public schools. But most Jewish agencies and organizations were so racked by the pressure from their west L.A. and Valley constituents that they took no positions. Many Jewish temples and synagogues organized and sponsored private schools for 4th-8th graders.

The busing plan the Board produced was so needlessly complicated that many children spent hours riding to school. Receiving schools were seldom ready for their newly assigned students, records were consistently lost or sent to the wrong schools, and the district staff exercised no leadership and organized no community support for their own desegregation effort.

In January 1979, Roberta Weintraub defeated the previous Board president in a recall election. In June 1979, a new school board, with a majority committed to ending mandatory desegregation, was elected. The new Board immediately voted to endorse Proposition I, a constitutional amendment designed to end busing in L.A. The Board also withdrew all mandatory programs and submitted a voluntary desegregation plan to Judge Egly. In October 1979, when Judge Egly opened the trial of the Board's integration plan, the main issue was whether a voluntary desegregation effort was sufficient to desegregate L.A.'s schools.

But the trial was overshadowed by the

electoral campaign for Proposition I. This amendment to the California Constitution prohibited pupil reassignment or transportation unless the equal protection clause of the U.S. Constitution was violated, thereby requiring California courts to follow federal guidelines for imposing busing. Previously, the California constitution had required desegregation whenever *de facto* segregation was demonstrated, while federal courts have been requiring a demonstration of *de jure* segregation before ordering mandatory remedies. Therefore Proposition I seemed to offer relief from stricter state standards through more lenient federal standards. Yet in L.A., Judge Gitelson had found the school board guilty of *de jure* segregation. How could Proposition I save L.A. from mandatory reassignment?

In November 1979, California voters approved Proposition I by two to one. The L.A. Board immediately voted to apply its provisions to the trial and to all previous integration orders issued by Judge Egly. When the trial of the Board's mostly voluntary desegregation effort concluded in May 1980, Judge Egly rejected the Board's programs and imposed his own plan, which included much more mandatory reassignment.

The Board appealed Judge Egly's ruling on the grounds that Proposition I prohibited mandatory reassignment. In December 1980, the California Court of Appeals upheld the constitutionality of Proposition I and threw out Judge Egly's plan. Then the California Supreme Court—which had unanimously upheld the original decision finding L.A. guilty of *de jure* segregation—refused to hear an appeal from the Court of Appeals' decision, thereby ending the legal process in California. Judge Egly resigned and a new judge accepted an all-voluntary plan submitted by the L.A. Board.

By the beginning of this past school year, all students under mandatory reassignment had returned to their neighborhood schools, all minority schools desegregated under the various plans were re-segregated, the extent of segregation had grown much worse than when the suit was filed in 1963, and many minority



Sophie Rivera/LNS

schools were severely overcrowded. By this June, when the Supreme Court upheld the California ruling on Proposition I, there were few whites left to integrate—the L.A. Board projects a white enrollment of less than 15 percent by 1983.

The L.A. School Board, which consistently chose what it defined as the interests of the white students against the educational and constitutional rights of the majority of Latino, black and Asian students, were not the only villains in this

struggle. "The media played an absolutely despicable role," argues Henry Gutierrez, director of the Hispanic Urban Center. "Instead of maintaining even the semblance of balance, they promoted fear, insecurity and confusion." (Now that the case is dead, the L.A. media are beginning to investigate the resource disparities between inner-city and Valley schools, and to focus on the overcrowding in Latino and Asian schools.)

Religious organizations (except for the Catholic Church) were paralyzed by the opposition to integration in their west L.A. and Valley constituencies. The powerful business community, occasionally mobilized as a pro-integration force in other cities, never intervened effectively in L.A. A black mayor and a Latino deputy mayor held themselves aloof from the struggle, and the ACLU and the NAACP, and the other organizations who joined the case, were unable to organize an effective base. The legal strategy concentrated on building a compelling record for the appeals process, rather than producing a desegregation plan that might have offered an effective definition of integration and a rallying point for black and Latino support.

A small band of heroes.

But there were heroes as well. A courageous band of ACLU, NAACP and League of Women Voters activists organized the original suit, raised funds, lobbied, testified, carried out exhaustive research and consistently exposed the Board's attempt to sabotage its desegregation efforts. The work of the Integration Project is particularly impressive. This group began as a New American Movement class for teachers and evolved into an organization of almost 100 who researched, set up a speakers

Opposition from the center collapsed, leaving the left high and dry.

bureau, mobilized support for desegregation through meetings and rallies, analyzed the Board's programs and eventually submitted four different integration plans. Says Jackie Goldberg, one of the group's founders: "We gradually became aware that we were fighting the last major integration case in America. What else could we do?"

Yet it wasn't enough. "The Integration Project wanted to be the left in the spectrum of the plaintiffs, to neutralize BUS-STOP and the right so that the center could work out a plan we wouldn't be thrilled with but we could accept. But the center collapsed and left us fighting the right, which swept into power on the Board."

Two years after the California Supreme Court's refusal to hear an appeal from a ruling which, in Joseph Duff's opinion, "effectively allowed the Appeals Court to overrule the Supreme Court," a right-wing school Board has re-segregated L.A. schools. Integrationists still seem in shock throughout L.A., for victory had once seemed so close. "If the Board had taken leadership, led politically, fought in the community and tried to bring people together to uphold the court decision," says Rita Walters, the only minority member of the current L.A. Board, "we could have gotten through this."

Norm Fruchter writes frequently on education for *In These Times*.

PERSPECTIVES

Pornography won't go away

By Kate Ellis

THE ISSUE OF PORNOGRAPHY has become such a hot item in the feminist world that some people, both inside and outside the debate, wish we would "get beyond it" and on to topics more connected to strategy. Yet it persists, and with a fervor that suggests that, for the participants, something important is at stake. Are they deluded? Have feminists retreated into wrangling over the nature of sexuality because we have lost our way as a movement? Have we really divided into "two camps," as Patricia Erens says in her review of the documentary *Not a Love Story* (ITT, June 30): "those in support of sado-masochism and supporters of the anti-pornography movement?"

I prefer to see this debate, like that around the family, as one of the theoretical walls that any movement must surmount if it is to evolve through history. Over Betty Friedan's objections second wave feminists have always insisted that sexual alienation and predetermined power differences were as much a barrier to freedom as power disparities in the sphere of economics. Just as the left sees work as a set of social relations, so feminists see sexuality as more than simply a "natural" activity. The apparatus for giving meaning consists of symbols, and, increasingly, many of these come to us through our mass media.

So answering the question of what role the media plays in shaping people's sexual practice, and how sexuality fits in (or does not fit in) with other structures of submission that are more public, is no small task. We can, of course, follow Friedan's suggestion: Stop talking about sex and start talking about the family. But this would fall far short of what I have always understood to be the feminist project, which is (to adapt a phrase of Michael Harrington's) to go as far beyond Marx as Marx went beyond Adam Smith.

When the second wave of feminism was getting started, it was useful to look to the media for confirmation of our discovery that sexual inequality was man-made. We looked at ads telling us how to be the beautiful object he wanted, and realized where our shared sense of inadequacy was coming from. But we stood apart from all this in our painter's pants and un-made-up faces. The media could shape feelings whether or not you resembled its images. But this didn't mean they determined our behavior.

Fifteen years later, with some feminists slipping back into skirts, makeup, and even high heels, some of us have begun to posit a more complicated relationship between our behavior and the directives of Madison Avenue. At the same time, two of the most blatant markers of our sexist culture have persisted, and perhaps intensified, despite the efforts of the women's movement: the use of women's bodies to sell things and physical violence against women.

The anti-pornography movement has taken the most extreme instance of the representation of women's bodies as items of consumption—pornography—and linked that particular commercial practice to violence against women as cause and effect. The assumption behind this link is that human consciousness is a *tabula rasa* onto which the moving finger of patriarchy writes its irresistible commands, an assumption to which we in our painter's pants thought we were giving the lie.

We can see this assumption in action in *Not a Love Story* when its director, Bonnie Sherr Klein, explains why she made

the film. Her eight-year-old daughter had to wait for a bus in a drugstore that carried pornographic magazines, and Klein began wondering how her daughter was going to see herself after being exposed to those magazines. Surely this would depend, to a large extent, on how she viewed herself already, and what images of sexuality she created out of the material provided by life at home.

But this involves not only her but her mother (and father) in the production of what Susan Griffin calls "the pornographic mind." If women only receive images, and do not create them as subjects, then they can position themselves entirely outside the system that oppresses them. This is a necessary antidote to a sexist culture that blames women for the abuse they receive. But taken by itself this "outsider" or victim position is neither an attainable goal nor a useful stance from which to fight for change.

This raises the question of what kind of change you want and how you would go about getting it. The anti-pornography movement is always careful to make it

iate love." This is what performing gives you, and Tracy is a professional. Half way through, she says, "I don't feel what I am doing is wrong," to which Klein responds: "Does it make you worry about your own perception of yourself?"

"No," says Tracy. This is how I make my bread, and I know that what I do is, for myself, dignified."

Shortly after that she has had a "conversion," and is standing on a soap box addressing the passing crowds on 42nd Street. Finally she is on the beach reading from her diary to Bonnie Klein. She has written about posing for a woman photographer of "pussy shots," Suze Randall, and about the "sick feeling" she got from doing that. If pornography is, as Susan Griffin calls it, "culture's revenge against nature," then she is reunited with nature and with her true self. How she will now make her living is not clear.

But is arousing men (in this case strangers) necessarily a "sickening" activity? The couple who made \$900 a week having sex with each other for 25 minute stretches 12 times a day did not think so.

however impersonal and distant, is still male dominance. Stone in her century and the anti-pornography feminists today are determined to deepen women's disappointment until they rise up against it.

But to deny people's capacity to resist or reinterpret (as Pavlov's dog was in no position to do) the mechanisms of control that surround us, renders the "conditioning" model useless by taking it too literally. Objectification may be a component of instrumental relationships, but such relationships are often necessary, appropriate or pleasurable. Fantasy, for instance, is a highly instrumental mode. Instrumentality does not necessarily diminish one's capacity for intimacy.

In this century, it was important for feminists to insist on connections between social institutions and human behavior, and to point out that much of what had always been considered natural in women and men was actually learned. The anti-pornography feminists for whom *Not a Love Story* is a vehicle (Susan Griffin, Kathleen Barry and Robin Morgan are interviewed, along with a much less doctrinaire Kate Millett) have gone all the way, so to speak, with this insight.

But in their relentless condemnation of objectification, in their insistence that pornography teaches men to hate and hurt women, the feminists in this camp have taken women's disappointment with their lot to the end of a dead-end street. If women are simply victims of men whose sexuality is determined by Hugh Hefner and Larry Flint, what will they do once they have decided to bow down to these guys no longer?



clear that it opposes censorship. But how could Bonnie Klein's concern for her daughter's identity be answered except by removing porn magazines from places where they can be seen by everyone?

Near the end of the film, Robin Morgan recites the often quoted words of Lucy Stone: "In education, in marriage, in religion, in everything, disappointment is the lot of women. It shall be the business of my life to deepen that disappointment in every woman's heart until she bows down to it no longer." Stone did not say what women were supposed to do once they decided not to take it any more, and the anti-pornography movement is similar, both in its vagueness and in its vision of how life is for women now.

When we leave Linda Lee Tracy, the Montreal stripper who is the heroine of the film, she is standing on the beach looking toward the sun. When we first see her she is in the place where she works, and she speaks positively about her work. "You get an immediate love," she says. "Not an everlasting love, but an immed-

"The girls like to see the men really pleased" (i.e. erect) said a woman who talked to men who could see her and hear her over a phone, briefly, for a quarter. "But don't a lot of the women who do this hate sex?" asked Klein. The woman agreed, but this had not been her point.

What makes arousing men sickening, for the opponents of pornography, is that they are aroused not by the presence of a real, warm, affectionate woman but by a woman (or a picture of one) whose only function in their lives is to get them into that state. The easy availability of pornography, the argument goes, "conditions" men in such a way that they can only be aroused by actual women if they turn them into objects resembling as much as possible the images they have been given.

This "conditioning" model is useful inasmuch as it alerts us to the immense capacity of the media for social control. We are constantly surrounded with images of what is desirable, with people conferring their desirability upon objects and vice versa. And part of that system of control,

According to Griffin and Co., they can try to create a sexuality that is untouched by the elements of pornography, a nurturing and caring sexuality that recovers the child in all of us before the purveyors of porn got to us. The phrase "in support of sado-masochism" that Patricia Erens uses is a buzz word standing for those of us who want a feminist revolution but not if it means reducing sexuality to caring and nurturing. We who are in this camp see the danger of our mass media, unchosen sex roles and violent images.

But we also see in all of these opportunities for responses other than "conditioned" ones, responses that can be categorized under the heading of play. Surely sexuality belongs under that heading, as well as under those of caring and nurturing. We need a more sophisticated analysis of the power of the media than we have had in the past. Not wearing makeup does not immunize you from that power, and wearing it does not make you its slave. ■ Kate Ellis writes regularly for *In These Times*.

INPRINT

DANCE

Isadora Speaks
Ed. and introd. Franklin
Rosemont
City Lights Books, 147 pp., \$5.95

By Lynn Garafola

"If I were only a dancer I would not speak. But I am a teacher with a mission."

With this statement, Isadora Duncan, founding mother of American modern dance, summed up a lifetime in the service of art and left politics.

Performer and choreographer, Duncan proclaimed a vision that radically altered the parameters of dance. Outspoken feminist, she declared the liberation of the female body. Public advocate of the Soviet Union, she dreamed of schools where children of the masses might imbibe the divine nectar of Beauty.

Unlike many dancers, Duncan was a fluent writer and articulate speaker who brought her ideas directly to the public in the speeches and statements that often closed her concerts, interviews, essays and her popular autobiography *My Life*. Scattered in out-of-print memoirs and obscure periodicals, this record of America's most outspoken dancer was almost lost. This makes Franklin Rosemont's *Isadora Speaks*, which brings together for the first time dozens of these documents and ephemeras, a book of great value.

Born in San Francisco in 1878, Duncan was the fourth child of a banker who deserted the family before her birth. Her mother gave music lessons to make a living, and in the hand-to-mouth years of Duncan's childhood lie the roots of her hatred for both poverty and patriarchy. "One cannot make plans for life or rules for marriage," she later said. "Life comes, and one lives each day. I am opposed to marriages. I believe in the emancipation of women."

Duncan grew up in the age of California Bohemianism, an era imbued with a "Grecian" worship of nature and the human



Auguste Rodin

body. This unique California way of seeing nature, Elizabeth Kendall has observed, was closely bound up in Duncan's dress reform rhetoric—her attacks on hampering corsets and ballet shoes that became a touchstone of feminism. Another influence was Delsarte, a system of "aesthetic gymnastics" that enjoyed an enormous following in the 1880's. Like the pre-Raphaelite dress of San Francisco's artists that she later adopted, Delsarte's aim of reviving women's "natural" motions had feminist implications that entered her theory of dance.

The young artist who left America more or less perma-



The Dover Street Studios

A radical on and off stage

nently in 1900 was far from being the revolutionary portrayed in her memoirs. Steeped in the era's radical individualism, she passionately detested Main Street mores and taste. Her rebellion was emphatically American—a dream of personal and artistic self-realization on the grand stage of Europe.

Isadora's European era, which lasted until 1914, marked the zenith of her career as a dancer. Youthful bands of artists feted her in the streets and sketched her in performance while the frieze at the Theatre des Champs-Élysées in Paris enshrined her in stone. For a generation shaking off the dust of 19th-century convention, her art augured the promise of a freer, more creative future.

During that period when Duncan made Paris her home, politics remained in abeyance. Dressed by the couturier Paul Poiret, she graced theater opening nights and her lover, the son of sewing machine inventor Isaac Singer, funded both her extravagant lifestyle and her short-lived school in the fashionable suburb of Neuilly.

At the outbreak of World War I, Duncan left Paris for the safety of the U.S. She spent most of the war years in New York, and it was there that her radicalism assumed an explicitly political

cast.

In his introduction, Rosemont mentions the efforts of Juliette Poyntz of the International Ladies' Garment Workers Union to establish a school for working-class children under Duncan's direction. The school did not materialize, but Isadora's pleas for support now carried a strong socialist tinge.

"There are people here tonight," she told an audience at the Century Opera House in 1915, "that have paid as much as \$100,000 for a painting by

some Old Master of Europe. The cost of one of those paintings would support my school for a long time.

"My work," she added, "is appreciated by those people in the gallery because only the poor people in this country are intelligent."

At the Metropolitan Opera House she told her audience: "This is not a democratic theater. I would like to see a theater where there were no first tier boxes, second tier boxes and galleries."

Her lasting impression of the war years was of the culture-hungry masses of New York's immigrant ghettos. "I remember before I left America down on the East Side, when my pupils danced, the poor people in the audience cried and begged me to stay and teach their children to dance as my pupils did. But I couldn't; I had no school, no support."

Red scarves and freedom.

Duncan welcomed the Russian Revolution with a dance of "terrible fierce joy," and in 1921 she was invited to teach in the Soviet Union. Here she founded a school that despite her absence lasted until the '30s. Here too she choreographed some of her greatest solo and group works—two funeral marches in memory of Lenin, a dance to the *Internationale*—which were performed before huge cheering crowds throughout the country. "My three years in Russia," she wrote, "with all its suffering, were worth all the rest of my life put together. There I reached the highest realization of my being."

Duncan's last American tour in 1922-23 took place in an atmosphere charged with political repression. She was detained at Ellis Island when she arrived with her young husband, the Soviet poet Sergei Essenin. Demonstrations broke out at theaters where she performed, and reporters hounded her with questions about collective ownership of property and Essenin's violent drinking bouts. In Boston, she bared her breast, waved a flaming red scarf and shouted, "This is red. That is what I am!" Half the audience left the hall.

"My manager [Sol Hurok] tells me that if I make more speeches the tour is dead. Very well, the tour is dead! I will go back to Moscow where there is vodka, music, poetry and dancing. [Pause] Oh yes, and freedom!" It is tempting to cast Isadora as

a martyr, especially on this last tour. Politically, she was indeed maligned, but she was also a complex and often contradictory personality who lived life on a grand scale, as prodigal in her appetites as in her art. The taste for luxury acquired in Paris never left her. "When in doubt, always go to the best hotel" was the maxim she lived by.



Robert Henri

Duncan was often lucid and penetrating. But like many great artists she saw her life as an exemplary journey. In her autobiography, the vehicle for transmitting this self-created myth to future generations, truth and fiction mingle, and it is all too easy to fall prey to Duncan's persuasive powers. And here Rosemont stumbles, for he accepts her pronouncements unreservedly. This is partly because, focusing so exclusively on Duncan herself, he neglects the social background of her art (the feminist, dress reform milieu that Elizabeth Kendall explored so provocatively in *Where She Danced*) as well as the opinion of contemporary critics who cut through some of her later posturing.

In stressing Duncan's politics, however, *Isadora Speaks* could not be more timely. Eclipsed by a decade of reconstructions of her work and discussions of her technique, Isadora Duncan's radicalism deserves recognition as the powerful force that animated her lifetime in dance. ■ *Lynn Garafola is writing a history of Sergei Diaghilev's Ballets Russes.*

CALENDAR

Use the calendar to announce conferences, lectures, films, events, etc. The cost is **\$20.00 for one insertion, \$30.00 for two insertions and \$15.00 for each additional insert**, for copy of 50 words or less (additional words are 50¢ each). Payment must accompany your announcement, and should be sent to the attention of **Paul Ginger**.

CHICAGO, ILL.

September 19
"November 1982: Progressive Candidates in Chicago and Illinois" is the topic of the September meeting of Democratic Socialists of America.

Nancy Shier, the Political Action Director of AFSCME in Illinois will be the featured speaker on Sunday at 7:30 p.m., St. Nicolai Church, 3000 N. Kedzie. Branch meetings on women, health, gays, electoral politics, labor, the Second City Socialist School, peace, disarmament, new members, and more will follow the discussion. For more information, call (312) 871-7700. Non-members welcome. Childcare provided.

DETROIT, MI

October 14-16
"Twentieth Century Labor in Perspective," Fourth Annual North American Labor History Conference, McGregor Center, Wayne State University. Keynote: Joyce Miller, President, Coalition of Labor Union Women. Sessions on autoworkers and unemployment,

worker insurgency, class, organizing service workers. For information write: Labor History Conference, History Department, Wayne State University, Detroit, MI 48202.

INDIANA, PA

October 21-23
Indiana University of Pennsylvania is sponsoring a conference "The Industrial North: The Future of Jobs, Productivity and Community." Participants include Barry Bluestone, M. Harvey Brenner, Stuart Butler (consultant to the Heritage Foundation), Julius Vehlein, William Miller (vice president for labor relations, U.S. Steel) and Alfred Warren (vice president for industrial relations, General Motors). Contact Irwin Marcus, Department of History, Indiana University of Pennsylvania, Indiana, PA 15705 for additional details.

Election

Continued from page 6

black or Hispanic vote and failed to carry a single assembly district represented by a black or Hispanic.

Koch's relations with labor have been acrimonious from the beginning, based partly on the natural antagonism between employer and employee, but also on Koch's apparent dislike of unions. Last year, he earned the special ire of Victor Gotbaum's District Council 37, a branch of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, by refusing to allow a dues-checkoff on their paychecks that would go to union political campaigns. City union leaders blame Koch for creating an anti-labor climate in the city. John Hudson, manager of the Headwear and Allied Workers Joint Board, said, "Koch has created an anti-labor environment where labor gets blamed for what's gone wrong with the city. It's made collective bargaining harder, and it's made people feel less concerned about using union contractors."

Koch's left-wing critics at the *Village Voice* (which Koch refers to as a "porno rag") and at City Hall charge that his economic policies have favored business and the Manhattan gentry at the expense of both the poor and the middle class. Paul Du Brul, the co-author of *The Permanent Government*, points to Koch's use of Urban Development Corporation (UDC) funds, which were originally intended to fund low-income housing, to finance luxury hotels and convention centers, and his use of tax incentives to speed

up gentrification on Manhattan's West Side. "Koch has consistently done everything to meet the demands of the large corporations, developers and builders and completely ignored the needs of racial minorities and working people."

But even on the left Koch is not without his defenders. John Mollenkopf, a political scientist at the City University of New York who served briefly as the director of Economic Planning in the Koch administration, defends his record. "I think that Koch is a lot better than the personality he projects to the electorate," Mollenkopf said.

Mollenkopf claims that most of high- and middle-level Koch appointees were veterans of the Lindsay administration, who continued to adhere to that administration's commitments to the poor, but who had learned the facts of fiscal life. Mollenkopf thinks Koch's clashes with labor were inevitable. "You may say, 'I want to pay public employees more,' but the city had \$1.5 to \$3 billion worth of unfunded expense obligations in 1975. They were so far in the red it was unbelievable. The choice was to liquidate the debt or put the city in the bankers' hands. At least, he has gotten the control of the city's affairs out of Wall Street and back into City Hall."

Koch's main worry in the Democratic primary is not Cuomo, but the persistent antagonism toward him from minorities and blacks. Cuomo's principal differences with Koch are on the death penalty. Neither Cuomo nor Koch have advanced anything remotely resembling innovative new proposals. Cuomo claims that if elected he will provide "Vince Lombardi government. I regard myself as pretty good on ideas, but ideas are not all that it is about. What you need is execution."

Labor officials admit privately that their support for Cuomo reflects their opposition to Koch rather than their enthusiasm for Cuomo. Several prominent leftists, including City Council member Ruth Messinger, have remained neutral. Messinger, a severe critic of Koch, says that she refuses to support any politician who backs Westway, which both Koch and Cuomo do. Carol Bellamy, the liberal City Council president, is supporting Koch in hope of succeeding him as mayor if he wins.

As far as labor goes, the most important test will come after the primary. If Koch wins, he will still have to face Cuomo, who received the Liberal Party nomination, as well as the Republican nominee, who is likely to be Lehrman. New York leftists don't have to be elephants to remember how Conservative Party candidate James Buckley won the Senate race in 1970 against a divided field or how Alphonse D'Amato defeated Elizabeth Holtzman in 1980. If Koch wins the primary on September 23, they will have to ask whether they will get "more bang with the buck" from defeating Koch or from defeating Lehrman.

A liberal in Queens.

Many New York labor officials are almost as concerned with what Koch represents in the Democratic Party nationally as with his local anti-union activities. Having reiterated his oppositions to Koch's labor policies, UAW Local 259 official Sam Meyers said, "Koch represents the epitome of a bad influence in the Democratic Party. The only difference between Koch and Norman Podhoretz is that he has to run for office and Podhoretz doesn't."

But Koch's position in the national

party is hard to figure out. On such issues as gay rights or abortion rights, Koch is an outspoken liberal. (His bachelorhood has subjected him to constant rumor, the most flagrant being the 1977 sign, "Vote for Cuomo not the homo.") He has backed tax incentives for business, but took a typically Democratic stand against the inequity of the Reagan tax and spending cuts.

He is, perhaps, to the right of the administration on some foreign policy issues. He favors funding American military superiority over the Soviet Union ("I've always believed we should be ahead of the Soviet Union in our ability to defend ourselves"). He is a staunch defender of Israel's Menachem Begin. When Israel invaded Lebanon this spring, Koch commented, "I analogize what Israel is doing to what we would do if terrorists were operating out of Cuba and terrorizing the people of Florida. What would you do?"

It may be that Koch's positions are distorted because they are filtered through the intense political prism of Manhattan, where he is both loved and hated, and where nuances become tendencies and tendencies parties. Jim Chapin, a prominent Queens Democrat and former national director of Michael Harrington's Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee, interprets Koch's politics as a peculiar product of the Village's Democratic rivalries. "Koch thinks the world is a big Manhattan," Chapin said. "He thinks he is a conservative because he hates Bella Abzug."

Chapin insists that in the context of politics outside Manhattan, Koch is still closer to being a liberal than a conservative. "In Queens, we know what real conservatives are," Chapin said.

CLASSIFIED

PUBLICATIONS

FREE SAMPLE—political newsletter. Write: Washington Report, P.O. Box 10309, St. Petersburg, FL 33733.

THIS MAGAZINE is too left to be right and too right to be left. *Inquiry* is a political monthly concerned with human rights, civil liberties and foreign policy issues. We're a young magazine with new ideas—and they don't always sit too well with people whose thinking has fallen into a rut. Write for more information: *Inquiry*, 1320 G St., SE, Washington, DC 20003. Sample copy only \$1.50.

HELP WANTED

EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR—Washington Public Interest Research Group, a consumer/environmental organization. Administrative skills, supervises staff and activities. \$12,000 plus benefits. Start Dec. 1. Deadline Oct. 1. Job description available. WashPIRG FK-30, University of Washington, Seattle, WA 98195.

attle, WA 98195.

PROGRESSIVE social change foundation seeks fundraiser for staff collective. Salary \$17,000 plus benefits. Third World and women encouraged to apply. Send resume to North Star Fund, 135 East 15th St., N.Y.C. 10003. Telephone (212) 460-5511.

WANT A JOB YOU CAN BELIEVE IN? ACORN needs community organizers to work with low and moderate income families in 26 states for political and economic justice. Direct action on neighborhood deterioration, utility rates, taxes, health care, redlining, etc. Long hours, low pay. Training provided. Contact Kaye Jaeger, 117 Spring, Syracuse, NY 13208. (315) 476-0126.

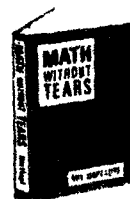
BUTTONS, POSTERS, ETC.

BUTTONS & BUMPERSTICKERS in-stock & custom-printed (union made). Free stock catalogue, wholesale custom printing prices. Donnelly/Colt, Box 271-IT, New Vernon,

NJ 07976, (201) 538-6676.

"STOP THE ARMS RACE NOW!"; "Nuclear Free Zone!"; "Work for a Nuclear-Free World!"; "Freeze Nuclear Weapons!"; "Make Love, Not War!"; "Solidarity" (Polish); "Beware the Actor" (Reagan graphic); "Let Them Eat Jellybeans!"; "Money for Jobs, Not for War!"; "Politically Correct!"; "Question Authority!"; "Take the Toys Away from the Boys—Disarm!"; Buttons: 2/\$1; 10/\$4; 50/\$15; 100/\$25. Ellen

MATH WITHOUT TEARS



Using non-technical language and a light touch Roy Hartkopf gives you a basic understanding of many everyday applications of mathematics. He takes the reader from simple counting to trigonometry and calculus, emphasizing the practical aspects of math. Humorously written. Learn math in the comfort of your own home at minimum cost.

Order now: \$11.95 plus \$1.25 hdlg. **EMERSON BOOKS, INC.** Dept. 672-G, Verplanck, NY 10596 10 Day Money Back Guarantee

Ingber, P.O. Box 752-T, Valley Stream, NY 11582.

ATTENTION

MOVING? Let In These Times be the first to know. Send us a current label from your newspaper along with your new address. Please allow 4-6 weeks to process the change. Send to: In These Times, Circulation Dept., 1509 N. Milwaukee Ave., Chicago, IL 60622.

New Location

GUILD BOOKS
2456 North Lincoln Avenue
Chicago, IL 60614
(312) 525-3667

New store hours: noon-10:30 p.m., seven days a week

Literature • History • Politics
Art • Women & Minority Studies
Wide Selection—Periodicals & Records • Books in Spanish
Come in and browse.

FOR SALE

CARS sell for \$117.95 (average). Also Jeeps, Pickups. Available at local Gov't Auctions. For Directory call 805-687-6000 Ext. 2440. Call refundable.

BOOKS

REDLETTER BOOKS. 666 Amsterdam, New York's independent left bookshop.

PERSONALS

CLASSICAL MUSIC LOVERS EXCHANGE—the link between unattached music lovers. Write CMLE, Box 31, Pelham, NY 10803.

CHINESE PEOPLES CAP
Lined all cotton cap from China. Durable, practical, comfortable. Navy, tan, grey or white. Sizes: S-M-L-XL. Send \$5.00 ppd. or 2 for \$9.00 ppd. to: **Newport Cap Co.** P.O. Box 1226-T Newport, Oregon 97365



Wear ITT This Summer!

In These Times t-shirts and hats are now available. Wear them this summer and stay cool while publicizing your favorite newspaper.

T-shirts:
X-L black and red
L black, light blue and red
M black, light blue and tan
S black, light blue, tan and yellow
Specify 1st and 2nd. \$6.95 each postpaid.

Special Offer
Buy a t-shirt and a hat together for just \$11.00.
ITT, Box A, 1509 N. Milwaukee Ave., Chicago, IL 60622.

Red or blue mesh hats are adjustable and come in one size. \$5.95 each postpaid.

In These Times Classified Ads

Grab Attention

...and work like your own sales force. Your message will reach 67,000 responsive readers each week. (72% made a mail order purchase last year.) ITT classes deliver a big response for a little cost.

Word Rates:

60¢ per word / 1 or 2 issues
55¢ per word / 3-5 issues
50¢ per word / 6-9 issues
45¢ per word / 10-19 issues
40¢ per word / 20 or more issues

Display Inch Rates:

\$16 per inch / 1 or 2 issues
\$15 per inch / 3-5 issues
\$14 per inch / 6-9 issues
\$12 per inch / 10-19 issues
\$10 per inch / 20 or more issues

All classified advertising must be prepaid. Telephone and POB numbers count as two words; abbreviations and zip codes as one. Advertising deadline is Friday, 12 days before the date of publication. All issues are dated on Wednesday.

IN THESE TIMES Classified Advertising, 1509 N. Milwaukee Ave., Chicago, IL 60622. (312) 489-4444



By Dan MacLeod

Illustration by Philip Evergood

"They'd rather fix it than deal with me."

SAFETY

FIRST

OLD MAN HENRY PICKED UP THE scent and stopped abruptly, scanning the room with a suspicious look in his eye. He stood there for a few seconds looking puzzled. Then he started to track down the source of the smell, sniffing as he went.

We were in the solenoid department of the sprawling factory on the outskirts of Indianapolis, a plant producing electrical equipment for cars. I had just been hired by the international union to help its locals solve health and safety problems. Giving Henry a hand was one of my first assignments.

We had barely begun the tour when we smelled the unusual, sweet vapor. As the old man set out to investigate, I trailed after. Corporate staff and plant officials followed a few steps behind.

"What's the smell, Henry?" I asked.

"Tri-chlor!" he declared with certainty.

He fit the part of a gruff old man well. He wore old-fashioned, gray-colored work clothes, like a building janitor. His hair was white and he had an impressive, stocky build. He had been a union committeeman for decades, but for the past three years he had been the safety rep—a full-time job in his plant.

We passed a group of workers, each running some sort of tall machine, and then we turned a corner by a row of women who were assembling electric starters on a long workbench. We walked—still sniffing—into a room filled with a few odd-looking pieces of equipment. In the center of the room was a large tumbler, half-full of shiny metal parts bumping around in a sawdust-like material.

Next to the tumbler stood a bucket filled with a clear liquid. When I asked one of the workers, he said it was trichlor.

"Yup," said Henry. "Tri-chlor."

Trichloroethylene. I tried to remember what I had learned in college. A nervous system depressant. Short-term overexposure: headaches, nausea, even unconsciousness and death. Long-term exposure...I forgot. Did it cause liver damage or not? I'd have to look it up.

Meanwhile, Henry put his hands on his hips, stared at the bucket and shook his head with disgust.

I began asking the workers questions from the checklists I had learned:

How many people were exposed? For how long? Was the exposure intermittent or constant? How many shifts?

I was just getting going when the plant manager caught up with us.

"What's the problem?"

"You've got an open tri-chlor here!" the old man said loudly with a sneer. He cocked his head to one side and looked over the tops of his safety glasses directly at the plant manager, but didn't say



anything more.

The plant manager looked a little embarrassed. He turned to the personnel manager. "Take care of that right away," he said.

Satisfied, Old Man Henry turned and led me on. I was still trying to figure out if the exposure was full shift or not, and he had the problem solved already.

As we walked away, I asked him, "How'd you know it was unsafe?"

He answered quickly, "Son, I've spent 30 years in this shop and that set-up just didn't look right. Everyone knows those cleaning chemicals can knock you out. And in my time I've seen people kick buckets over awful easy. That's enough facts for me."

He paused, then added, "Most of the time, management doesn't really know what's going on, so if you come on strong sometimes, they figure you might be right."

We walked on, department after department, watching workers build electric starters, lights, radios and a host of

other electrical equipment. He pointed out the improvements he had gotten the company to make since he had become safety rep: guard rails, safety cables, better lighting, a whole variety of items. He was proudest of the ventilation system he had them install over the smokey die-cast machines.

We left our management escort and walked into Henry's office, a barren room just large enough to hold an old wooden desk, a filing cabinet and two worn-out chairs.

"This is my system," he said as he pulled out a notebook that was dog-eared and covered with oil smears and dirty fingerprints. "When I spot a problem, I write it down here next to a number. When I get it fixed, I cross it off."

"How many do you have listed in all?" I asked.

He began flipping through the pages. "Let me see...in the last year...in the whole plant, I'd say roughly...1,360 problems. Those are the solved ones."

My eyebrows rose.

"Of course," he explained, "lots of those are little things—oil on the floor, broken drinking fountains, and such. But some of them were real expensive, like those die-cast ventilators."

"How do you get them fixed? Grievances?"

"Nope, hardly ever. I just walk around the plant all day and hassle the foremen. They get so they hate to see me coming. They hide even. They get to the point where they'd rather fix the problems than deal with me."

He paused and chuckled, "If a foreman won't do it, I just go over his head and keep pushing until someone gives in. Lately, I even got a couple of foremen coming to me on the sly, asking me to put pressure up above to get things done they can't. Then those foremen owe me favors, which I eventually collect. It all works out."

He put the notebook back in a drawer, leaned back and put his boots on the desk.

"Sometimes, too, I just grab a welder or whoever and drag him over to something that needs fixing and have him do it. 'Course, I'm not supposed to do that, but no sense wasting time getting someone to write a work order."

"I've got enough years in here to retire," he concluded, "but I love this job. You have to be half-engineer, half-lawyer, and half-psychologist to get it done, and that keeps you young."

Then, almost as an afterthought he said, "You understand it's not just me, Old Henry Walters, that they're answering to. They know that behind me is the committee and behind the committee is everyone in the shop, and the whole international union. Those electric starters that you saw us building here—we're the sole suppliers of starters for all of International Harvester, most of Ford, and about half of GM. If we strike here, lots of cars and truck plants go down."

He continued in a slow, almost reverent tone, "That's what you call bargaining power. And through the years, we've learned how to use it."

He stopped, put his feet back on the floor and leaned forward, looking me directly in the eye. "Don't ever underestimate the power of people working together. Even you coming here today gave us muscle."

"They didn't decide to fix that tri-chlor right away because of me. I would've had to hassle for a week to get that done. When you stayed in the background just quietly asking questions, they figured you had them cold. They couldn't look ignorant in front of a rep from Detroit. Son, they fixed that one today because of you."

Dan MacLeod works for the UAW. This incident occurred several years ago.